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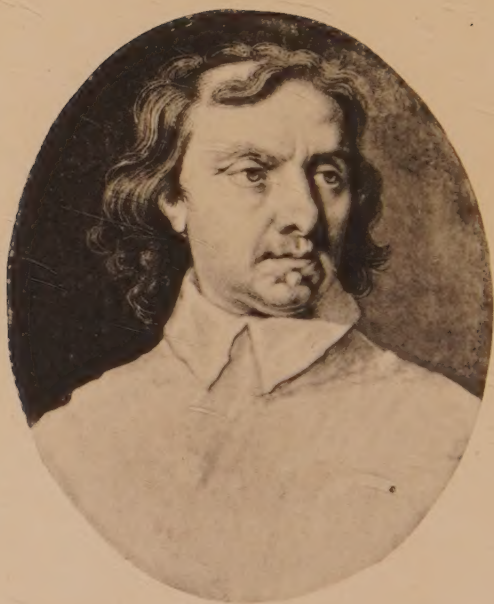
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SPEECHES
OF
OLIVER CROMWELL





OLIVER CROMWELL

(From the Miniature by Cooper, in the Baptist College, Bristol)

SPEECHES
OF
OLIVER CROMWELL

1644-1658

COLLECTED AND EDITED BY

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PREFACE

THESE speeches have been collected with two distinct objects in view. In the first place, it is thought that no proper idea of the Protector, as a speaker, can be obtained if attention only is paid to the last few years of his life. His activity extends from 1629 to 1658, a fact which should not be altogether ignored simply because the historical material at our disposal is scanty. For this reason a beginning has been made with the year 1644, a date that should serve to remind readers of how much must be missing, for Cromwell surely took some part in the long constitutional debates that preceded the outbreak of the Civil War. And for this reason also, the 'substance' of a large number of speeches has been included. These fragments give greater continuity to the book, they enable us to form a more general estimate of Cromwell's speech-making, and to realize the poverty of our historical records.

In the second place, it seems high time that some attempt should be made to gather together the actual

texts of these speeches, as at present existing, and not to present mere literary versions in which it is difficult to distinguish between speaker and author. Accordingly these speeches have been faithfully copied from the best available sources by the Editor, and all emendations and words inserted by him have been placed within brackets. This enables the reader to see at one glance the condition of the text, and to satisfy himself as to the value of the corrections made. Throughout the book this has been followed as a hard and fast rule, though in many cases the alterations are of the most trivial character. Further, no attempt has been made to alter the text where sense can possibly be made, or where the sentences are so confused as to make restoration impossible. The punctuation is mostly the Editor's, a necessity forced upon him by the extraordinary condition of most of the originals; and the spelling is also modern. The book is thus a text-book, in reading which, though some assistance is offered, the reader must largely depend on his own knowledge and judgement.

This being so, it naturally becomes a question of some interest whether the texts copied have any claim to be considered originals: that is to say, whether any of our MSS. were actually written at the time of the speeches. It will be noticed that a number of alternative readings have been added in the notes. These are but a few selected from an immense quantity, and it is quite astonishing to find so much diversity when one of the texts appears to be fairly

complete and grammatical. The only explanation that can be suggested is, that these versions were not taken down at the time of the speech, but are founded on original reports sufficiently difficult to decipher to permit of such variations. Such would be the case if the original reports were rapidly taken down in *shorthand*. We are not entirely without evidence to prove that this was so. In Clarke MS. 41, for instance (from which Speech 3 is taken), after the narrative of the proceedings of Skippon and the Commissioners at Saffron Walden, we find this note:—‘For the whole proceedings at this meeting, it is in *shorthand*, in the bundle upon Mr. Wragges Lettre, May 6th, 1647.’ This speech then is, beyond doubt, a translation, the true original of which is now lost to us; consequently we have no means of judging whether the translation is accurate or the text complete. We can only form the same opinion of Speeches 4–8, for the Worcester College MS. N. 12 (formerly MS. lxvii), from which they are copied, is carefully written, and is in fact a *collection*, very similar to Clarke MS. 41, from which Speech 3 is taken. Frequent ‘blanks’ in the sentences, and in some cases on whole pages, shew that the translator’s task was no easy one, and yet it is important to observe that the result is a text very similar to that in several of our other MSS. Again, in Clarke MS. 27, we find the following reference to Speech 27, delivered on January 22, 165 $\frac{4}{5}$:—‘This day his Highnesse’ speech was passed in order to the press, it being translated out of *short*,

but it wilbe Thursday next before it bee published.' This original is also missing, so that at present we rely solely on the printed copy of a translation from the shorthand. With this information, perhaps we shall not be far wrong in assuming that the marginal remark to Speech 34 in MS. Add. Ayscough, 6125, 'blanks for 2 lynes,' means that the writer was unable to translate the original before him. That he did copy is evident, as the MS. is a *collection*, though at present we have no other authority for the full text of this speech.

However, whether we can prove that these speeches were originally taken in shorthand or not, we can very safely assert that nearly all the MSS. and authorities, on which we at present rely, are copies. The whole of the Clarke MSS., MS. Add. Ayscough, 6125, Monarchy Asserted, and the pamphlets, are copied from documents now lost to us. Even the Lansdowne MSS. were correctly written out in order to be sent to Mr. Pell at Zurich. Anxious as we are to read the actual words of the Lord Protector, this conclusion comes as a grievous disappointment, especially when further investigation only tends to shew that such copies may not be either complete or reliable. Considerable difficulty seems to have been experienced at the time in furnishing these reports, caused no doubt by the originals being in shorthand. Difficulty and delay are not very favourable to accuracy, especially if the 'notes' are mixed, hard to decipher, and the memory uncertain. For instance, in the Commons'

Journals, vii. p. 522, we find that on April 15, 1657, 'The Notes upon the former meeting being not perfectly transcribed, the Committee humbly pray some further time for the making of their report in that business,' that business being their conference with Cromwell on the 'humble Petition and Advice.' Then in the Diary of Thomas Burton, vol. ii. p. 351, we have the following reference to Speech 49:—'It held to night, that we could not see to write. Mr. Speaker desired me to take notes, and Mr. Smythe and I went to York House to Mr. Rushworth, that we might confer notes; but it was so long that we could not get it ready to report it next morning.' In this case the result was unsatisfactory, for it became necessary to go to his Highness, who could not remember a word, and the speech did not go to the press. As we do not possess these 'notes,' we can hardly regard the text of this speech as reliable. This evidence, moreover, points to the fact that a great deal of time and attention were necessary before a version of a speech could be produced, and that it was in reality arranged or edited. This is not very satisfactory, for we are quite unable to check the result. If the intention at the time was only to prepare suitable 'copy' for the press, very little care is likely to have been taken to preserve the actual words, for the public seem to have been quite content with the 'substance.' Also, under such circumstances the prejudice of the translators or editors might easily be exercised, as it undoubtedly has been in some sentences: mark for instance on p. 346 the

additional remark from Monarchy Asserted, 'all are angry at it.' There are in addition a few considerations of a more general character that may help to explain the difficulties of reporting. The constant repetition of sentences throughout these speeches seems to shew that a system of relays of writers may have been resorted to. His Highness was no doubt a very rapid speaker; certainly he spoke at great length, usually from two to three hours, and some such system may have been found absolutely necessary. These repetitions seem to me to mark the points at which the writers picked each other up by agreement. The task of assembling the 'notes' would then be comparatively easy, if everything went well; but it must be noted that if the writers were not in full agreement or got confused, the task of assembling their notes would be a very difficult one. If the second writer began before his time long sentences would overlap, and if these were slightly different both might be introduced into the text. If he did not begin in time, sentences would be lost; and in addition, the repetition-sentence being absent, it would become easy to displace whole paragraphs. Much would then depend on memory, and further delay would be caused by the necessity of translating the notes, if taken in shorthand, and writing out a correct version. As to the shorthand system employed, it may have been either Mr. Shelton's or Mr. Riche's; both are good, though somewhat clumsy, and both require extreme accuracy. Finally, we must not

forget the possibility that the rooms in which his Highness spoke were inconveniently crowded, and very hot, so that it was not altogether easy to write. Thus in Speech 17 (p. 87) we read:—‘and therefore seeing you sit here somewhat uneasy by reason of the scantiness of the room and the heat of the weather, I shall contract myself with respect to that;’ and again in Speech 34 (p. 211), Cromwell refers to the audience ‘as certainly not being able long to bear that condition and heat that you are in.’ Whilst in the case of some speeches it would seem as though no arrangements at all had been made to report his Highness, and that the versions are made up from hearsay.

On the whole, the general conclusion must be that the original reports of these speeches are missing, that many circumstances doubtless conspired to make them difficult to decipher, and that there is no very great reason to suppose that our translations or copies of them are necessarily accurate. We must make the best of the texts left to us, but they do little justice to the man who seems to have been the greatest orator of his time.

My best thanks are due to Mr. C. H. Firth for placing his transcripts of the Clarke MSS. at my disposal. To his kind encouragement and advice this book is largely due. I have also to thank the Librarian of Worcester College for depositing the Clarke MSS. in the Bodleian Library for my use; and the Library Committee of the Common Council

of the City of London for permission to search their records. Here and elsewhere, however, my efforts to discover missing documents have met with but little success. My thanks are also due to the staff of the British Museum and the Bodleian for much courtesy. The portrait of Cromwell has been photographed by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, from a miniature in the possession of the Baptist College, Bristol; the President of that College, the Rev. W. J. Henderson, B.A., having very kindly given permission.

C. L. S.

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SPEECHES OF CROMWELL

1.

Speech in the House of Commons, during the debate on
the Self-Denying Ordinance, Dec. 9, 1644.

‘Mr. Speaker,

I am not of the mind that the calling of the Members to sit in Parliament will break or scatter our armies. I can speak this for my own soldiers, that they look not upon me, but upon you, and for you they will fight, and live and die in your cause. And if others be of that mind that they are of, you need not fear them. They do not idolize me, but look upon the cause they fight for ; you may lay upon them what commands you please, they will obey your commands in that cause they fight for.’

2.

Speech in the House of Commons to Grand
Committee, Dec. 9, 1644.

‘It is now time to speak or for ever hold the tongue. The important occasion now is no less than to save a nation, out of a bleeding, nay, almost dying condi-

tion, which the long continuance of this war hath already brought it into; so that without a more speedy, vigorous, and effectual prosecution of the war,—casting off all lingering proceedings, like those of soldiers of fortune beyond the sea, to spin out a war,—we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of Parliament.

For what do the enemy say? Nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of the Parliament? Even this, that the Members of both Houses have got great places and commands and the sword into their hands, and, what by interest in the Parliament, what by power in the Army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This I speak here to our own faces, is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any. I know the worth of those Commanders, Members of both Houses, who are yet in power; but if I may speak my conscience without reflection upon any, I do conceive if the Army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace.

But this I would recommend to your prudence, not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any Commander-in-chief upon any occasion whatsoever. For as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in military

matters. Therefore, waiving a strict inquiry into the cause of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy, which is most necessary. And I hope we have such true English hearts, and zealous affections towards the general weal of our Mother Country, as no Members of either House will scruple to deny themselves, and their own private interests, for the public good; nor count it to be a dishonour done to them, whatever the Parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter.'

3.

To the Convention of Officers, in Saffron Walden
Church, Sunday, May 16, 1647.

'Gentlemen,

By the command of the Major-General¹ I will offer a word or two to you.

I shall not need to remind you what the occasion of this meeting was, and what the business we are sent down about. You see, by what has passed, that it was for us to learn what temper the Army was in: and truly to that end were the Votes of the Parliament communicated to you by us, that you should communicate them to the Army, that so we might have an account from you. That account is received, but, it being in writing and consisting of so many

¹ Skippon.

particulars, we do not yet know what the contents of those papers are. But this I am to let you know, that we shall deal very faithfully, through the grace of God, with those that have employed us hither, and with you also.

The further consideration of these businesses will be a work of time. The Major-General and the rest of the gentlemen think it not fit to necessitate your stay here from your several charges, but because there may be many particulars that may require further consideration in these papers that are here represented, it is desired that you would stay here, a Field-Officer at the least of every regiment, and two Captains. For the rest it is desired of you, that you would repair to your several charges, and that when you are there you would renew your care and diligence in pressing [on] the several soldiers under your commands the effect of those Votes that you have already read¹: that likewise you would acquaint them as particularly with those two things that the Major-General did impart to you, which he had in a letter from the Speaker of the House of Peers, to wit, the addition of a fortnight's pay, a fortnight to those that are to go for Ireland, and a fortnight to those that do not go: and likewise there is an Act of Indemnity, very full, already passed the House of Commons.

Truly, gentlemen, it will be very fit for you to have a very great care in the making the best use and

¹ This sentence from 'that you would repair' is repeated in the MS., but begins 'that likewise you would repair.'

improvement that you can, both of the Votes and of this that hath been last told you, and of the interest which all of you, or any of you, may have in your several respective regiments, namely to work in them a good opinion of that authority that is over both us and them. If that authority falls to nothing, nothing can follow but confusion. You have hitherto fought to maintain that duty¹, and truly as you have vouchsafed your hands in defending that, so now [you cannot fail] to express your industry and interest to preserve it. And therefore I have nothing more to say to you. I shall desire that you will be pleased to lay this to heart that I have said.'

4.

Speeches at a General Council of War, Reading,
July 16, 1647.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell 'moved for a Committee, many things then not being fit for debate and the Council of War to be adjourned till the afternoon.'

The speeches which follow are so briefly reported, that their meaning is hard to determine. In discussing whether there should be a present debate or not, the speakers seem to have had different objects in view; the consideration of the reasons which led to the drawing of the Paper, the sending of the Paper to Parliament at once, and the necessity of marching straightway on London.

¹ i. e. respect for Parliamentary authority; or perhaps read, 'authority.'

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

‘Marching up to London is a single proposal, yet it does not drop from Jupiter, as that it should be presently received and debated without considering our reasons. For I hope this will ever be in the Agitators, I would be very sorry to flatter them, I hope they will be willing that nothing should be done but with the best reason, and with the best and most unanimous concurrence. And though we have this desire backed with such reasons, certainly it was not intended [to say] we had no reason to weigh those reasons, for I think we shall be left to weigh these reasons. All this Paper is filled with reason, the dissatisfaction in particulars, the disadvantages of removal from London, the advantages of marching towards London; you are ripe for a conclusion and get a conclusion, but let this be offered to the General and Council of War.’

Colonel Rainborow thought it would be better to defer the debate till five or six o'clock, so that they might have time to consider. Ireton seems to have said that the Agitators were proposing to seize the power to settle their own desires, when the proper business of the Army was to give settlement to the nation; ‘there are some things prepared for that purpose’,¹ and he would be glad if those would assist, who ‘know any particulars to be added’; he thought they ought to decide what they meant to do with their power when they had it.

¹ Refers to the ‘Heads of the Proposals’; means that the constitutional settlement should come before the settlement of grievances.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'I desire we may withdraw and consider. Discourses of this nature will, I see, put power into the hands of [many]¹ that cannot tell how to use it, [and] of those that are likely to use it ill. I wish it² with all my heart in better hands, and I shall be glad to contribute to get it into better hands. And if any man or company of men will say that we do seek ourselves in doing this, much good may it do him with his thoughts. It shall not put me out of my way.

The meeting at six a-clock, it is not to put an end to this business of meeting³, but I must consult with myself before I consent to such a thing; but really to do such a thing [I must consult] before I do it. And whereas the Commissary[-General]⁴ does offer that these things were [wrongly] desired before satisfaction be given to the public settlement, there may be a conveniency of bringing in that⁵ to the Council of War next sitting, if it be ready and thought fit to be brought in. If these other things be in preparation we may bring them in, that we may not be to seek for a Council of War, if we had our business ready.'

Captain Clarke said, 'the sense of these gentlemen present is no other than what is for the good of the kingdom'; if power be misplaced, we have good reason to put it into other hands. Mr. Allen wished to use force and seize the power; he referred to Ireton's suggestion as 'the desire of those that have the power or the greatest part of it in their

¹ 'any' in text.

² The power.

³ Perhaps this business of 'marching,' or the 'business of this meeting.'

⁴ Ireton.

⁵ i. e. the scheme for settlement.

hands, to carry on things that they may have power': he thought this was picking a quarrel. Ireton retorted that such statements were much more likely to cause quarrels; that no knavery was intended when he said that he wished to give 'some real taste of that which we intend for the satisfaction of the kingdom, and what we would do with that power if we had it in our hands . . .' After further debate, a Committee was chosen to look over Engagements.

[Afternoon.]

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'If you remember there are in your Paper five particulars that you insist upon. Two of them are things new, that is to say, things that yet have not been at all offered to the Parliament or their Commissioners, that is the second and the fourth; the second which concerns the Militia of the City, and the fourth which concerns the release of those prisoners that you have named in your Paper, and a consideration to be had concerning those that are imprisoned in the several parts of the kingdom, of whom likewise you desire a consideration might be had now the Judges are riding their circuits.

To the first, this account; that upon your former Paper delivered, and upon the weight and necessity of the thing, there has been a very serious care taken by the General, he having, as I told you to-day, referred the preparing of somewhat concerning that for the Parliament to Colonel Lambert and myself; and an account of that has been given to the General

at our meeting in the inner room, and, if it please you, that which has been in preparation may be read together with the reason of it. That paper that now it is desired it may be read to you, part of it is an answer to a former paper that was sent to the Commissioners concerning the exclusion of the Reformadoes out of the lines of communication and the purging of the House of Commons, and the discharging or sending away into Ireland [those men that]¹ had deserted the Army. The General did order a paper to that purpose to be sent to the Commissioners, and that paper that now is to be read to you [is part] of a reply to the Commissioners, and there is an addition of this business concerning the Militia with the reasons to enforce the desire of it.

[The papers read.]

Care taken of all of them only two, which are concerning the suspending of the eleven Members and the discharging of prisoners.

I am commanded by the General to let you know in what state affairs stand between us and the Parliament, and into what way all things are put. 'Tis very true that you urge in your Papers concerning that effect that an advancing towards London may have, and of some supposed inconveniences that our drawing back thus far may bring upon us, but I shall

¹ 'that men' in text.

speaking to that presently. Our businesses they are put into this way, and the state of our business is this. We are now endeavouring, as the main of our work, to make a preparation of somewhat that may tend to a general settlement of the peace of the kingdom and of the rights of the subject, that justice and righteousness may peaceably flow out upon us; that is the main of our business. These things are but preparatory things to that that is the main. And you [also]¹ remember very well that this, that is the main work of all, was brought to some ripeness. The way that our business is in, is this. For the redressing of these things, it [is] a Treaty; a Treaty with Commissioners sent from the Parliament down hither, to the end that an happy issue may be put to all these matters that so much concern the good of the kingdom; and therein our good is, so that they must be finished in the way of a Treaty. The truth of it is, you are all very reasonably sensible that if those things were not removed, that, we think, may lose us the fruit of a Treaty and the fruit of all our labours; it is in vain to go on with a Treaty, and it is dangerous to be deluded by a Treaty. And therefore I am confident of it, that lest this inconveniency should come to us, lest there should come a second war, lest we should be deluded by a long Treaty, your zeal hath been stirred up to express in your Paper that there is a necessity of a speedy marching towards London to accomplish all these things. Truly I think that

¹ 'so' in text.

possibly that may be that, that we shall be necessitated to do. Possibly it may be so, but yet I think it will be for our honour and our honesty to do what we can to accomplish this work in the way of a Treaty; and if I were able to give you all those reasons that lie in the case, I think it would satisfy any rational man here. For certainly that is the most desirable way, and the other a way of necessity, and not to be done but in way of necessity. And truly instead of all reasons let this serve, that whatsoever we get by a Treaty, whatsoever comes to be settled upon us in that way, it will be firm and durable, it will be conveyed over to posterity as that that will be the greatest honour to us that ever poor creatures had, that we may obtain such things as these are which we are now about. And it will have this in it too, that whatsoever is granted in that way it will have firmness in it. We shall avoid that great objection that will lie against us, that we have got things of the Parliament by force, and we know what it is to have that stain lie upon us. Things, though never so good, obtained in that way, it will exceedingly weaken the things both to ourselves and to all posterity. And therefore I say, upon that consideration, I wish we may be well advised what to do. I speak not this that I would persuade you to go about to cozen one another, it was not in the General's nor any of our hearts.

[It is resolved] that we that are Commissioners should be very positive and peremptory to have these

things¹ immediately granted, I believe within the compass of that time which your Papers mention, within so many days. And for the other two things that they take no care of, that is the Members impeached [and the prisoners], these are two additional [things] which will be likewise taken care of, to be considered, and answered [by the Parliament] not with words and votes but with content and action. For there² needs no more of our representing of them, than these papers that have been read. In effect there hath been consideration had of the matters in your Papers, and answer given by the way proposed. And if these be not granted in a convenient time, [within some few days, we shall] yet [be] put³ in such a way, in[to] taking such a course of doing things, as you have proposed. Sooner than that we could not have put ourselves into a posture of doing.

I hope in God that if we obtain these things in this way we propose to you and this convenient time, that we shall think ourselves very happy that we have not gone any other way for the obtaining them. That which we seek [is] to avoid the having of a second war and the defeating of those [things] that are so dear to us, whose interest ought to be above our lives to us. If we find anything tending that way, to delay us or disappoint us of those honest things we are to insist upon, I hope it cannot nor shall not be doubted that the General nor any of us will be backward for

¹ *i. e. the Requests before the General Settlement.*

² 'their' in text.

³ 'time you are yet put' in text.

the accomplishment of those things we have proposed. It remains that you have some short account, as the time will bear, of that that has been so long in preparation, which is that that tends to the general settlement of [the kingdom]¹, and the General hath commanded the Commissioners to let you have a brief state of that.'

Cromwell thus intimated, that the general settlement, drawn up by Ireton, though not yet produced, was to be proceeded in by Treaty, but that the Paper was to be peremptorily demanded, though nominally under the name of a Treaty. This led to some misunderstanding. Capt. Clarke thought that the presenting of the Paper by Treaty would prove more dilatory than if it came from the hands of the Army immediately; further, that the 'preparations in order to the rights and liberties of the subject' might prove in some measure obstructive to the present proceedings; that there were good laws already, and it would be better to insist 'on good and wholesome executors of them'; a Treaty might prove delusive; we desire to present these things 'as immediately from us and from this honourable Council and by the Agitators, which we conceive will put vigour and strength to the business,' &c.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'I may very easily mistake that which the other Officer offered to your Excellency [as to]² particulars which might receive retardment or obstruction by carrying them on in the way of Treaty. I mentioned indeed particulars, which were that of the eleven Members and that of the prisoners, and

¹ 'that' in text.

² 'two' in text.

meant by [referring to] those, that [they] should go as the sense of the whole Army. He conceives it will add vigour and strength to the desire, and make our desires more easily granted, [to]¹ present not only those but all the rest, if it be so all the rest will be obstructed if they go by way of Treaty. There may be perhaps some mistake or forgetfulness in that which I offered to you. I think truly there is no objection lies in that which is said. For so far as I know and discern of these things and the way of management of them, if we convey [this Paper] to the Commissioners, and by them to the Parliament as the sense of the whole represented by the Agitators to the General, and assented to by the Council of War,—and [it] so becomes the sense not only of the Army that is the offended party, but also [of] the commanding party of it,—and [if] we represent it to them with that positiveness that hath been spoken of, to expect an answer within some few days, that is to say so fast as they can have it consulted, we may call this a Treaty, but I think it signifies nothing else but what that gentleman speaks of to be sent up to London, to which we are [to] desire an answer and expect [it] within so short a time. And therefore for my part I think they differ in nothing but words and not in substance.

I suppose there are resolutions not to enter upon a further Treaty till we have an answer to these

¹ MS. leaves small blank between 'granted' and 'present.'

things, and if you have patience to hear that which is offered you to be acquainted with from the Commissary-General, I suppose that business may be so disposed of, as that it may be seen to all the world that it is [as] effectual [a]¹ means to procure these things to be granted, as marching to London would do. Therefore I shall desire that if it please the General, that you may have an account of that other business by the Commissary-General².'

Mr. Allen admitted the care and diligence of the Officers in these transactions, but regretted the indifference of Parliament; no doubt a Treaty on this Paper, as well as the Settlement, would be honourable, but patience is expended; it is useless to prepare or propose the Paper, if Parliament has no intention of granting it; 'our speedy advance towards them would be a preparation to attain a speedy and a most effectual answer,' &c.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'If that that I say of the Treaty be applied to one thing which I mean of another, then there may haply³ be a very great misunderstanding of me. But [if] that which I speak of Treaty, that relates to those things that are prepared for a general settlement of the kingdom, be applied to the obtaining of these things which are to precede a Treaty, [it] is that, that I have said to you, hath been mistaken throughout, instead⁴ of giving me satisfaction of that point,

¹ 'an effectual' in text.

² 'That the Commissary-General may by you have an account of that other business' in text.

³ 'happily' in text.

⁴ 'and instead' in text.

which sticks on so with every one, of danger and delay. But that which I say of Treaty¹, in answer to that [that] is offered in your Paper, [is], that we should obtain these by positive demand within a circumscribed time and going of the Commissioners. Yet using the name will not offend if we do not the things, that is [if] we do not treat of those things.

Give me leave to offer one thing to your consideration, which I see you make to be your ground of marching towards London, because it came in my mind, I am sorry I did it, but this came in my mind, and I would not offer it you but because I really know it is a truth. We are, as our friends are elsewhere, very swift in our affections and desires, and truly I am very often judged for one that goes too fast that way, and it is the property of men that are, as I am apt to be, full of apprehensions that dangers are not so real as imaginary. [If we are] to be always making haste, and more sometimes perhaps than good speed, we are apt to misapprehensions that we shall be deluded through delay, and that there are no good intentions in the Parliament towards us; and that we gather from the manifold bearing of those words that we have represented to them. Give me leave to say this to you, for my own part perhaps I have as few extravagant thoughts, overweening [thoughts], of obtaining great things from the Parliament as any man, yet it hath been in most of our thoughts that this Parliament

¹ *i. e. what I mean when I speak of Treaty.*

might be a reformed and purged Parliament, that we might see men looking at public and common interests only. This was the great principle we had gone upon, and certainly this is the principle we did march upon when we were at Uxbridge, and when we were at St. Albans; and surely the thing was wise and honourable and just, and we see that providence hath led us into that way. It is thought that the Parliament does not mend. What is the meaning of that? That is to say, that company of men that sits there does not mean well to us. There is a party there that have been faithful from the sitting of the Parliament to this very day, and we know their interest and [how they] have ventured their lives through so many hazards. They came not to the House but under the apprehension of having their throats cut every day. If we well consider what difficulties they have passed, [I hope] that we may not run into that extreme of thinking too hardly of the Parliament. If we shall consider that their business of holding their heads above water is the common work, and [that] every other day and to-day that which we desire is that which they have struggled for as for life—and sometimes they have been able to carry it, others not, and yet daily they get ground—if we [desire to] see a purged Parliament, I pray let me persuade every man that he would be a little apt to hope the best. And I speak this to you as out of a clear conscience before the Lord, I do think that [this party in] the Parliament is upon the gaining

hand, and that this work that we are now upon tends to make them gain more. And I would wish that we might remember this always, that [whatever] we and they gain in a free way, it is better than twice so much in a forced, and will be more truly ours and our posterity's. And therefore I desire not to persuade any man to be of my mind, but I wish that every man would seriously weigh these things.'

Mr. Allen thought many had the same thoughts and hopes, but could not agree that their friends in Parliament were upon the gaining hand; he thought them the losers, and that if no steps were taken to march on London, they would be lost past recovery. Ireton thought that some reasons might have been offered in support of this view; for his part he thought them the gainers as the House was 'daily upon those Votes,' and 'we should have some love towards them'; as to presenting the requests in the name of the Army, that would be more effectual than a Treaty, and doubtless save further delay; but why had there been delay? The fault was largely their own; they were preparing proposals for a general settlement, as all knew, yet he observed that those who complained most of delay had not tendered anything to the Commissioners by way of helping them on; he was completely against marching on London except they had some adequate reason; on the previous occasion that had been so, but now that they had gained so much force was unnecessary.

Mr. Allen answered as to the latter statement, that doubtless they had previously acted on better grounds; but that if Parliament had owned their Army, it was mere pretence, as they suffered both press and pulpit to abuse them; and that if the eleven Members were excluded, these gentlemen were able to do as much harm elsewhere; however, it was of no consequence for the Army to discuss the new position if they had no power.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

‘This I wish in the general, that we may all of us so demean ourselves in this business that we speak those things that tend to the uniting of us, and that we do none of us exercise our parts to strain things and to let in things to a long dispute, or to unnecessary contradictions, or to the stirring up of any such seed of dissatisfaction in one another’s minds, as that may in the least render us unsatisfied one in another. I do not speak this that anybody does do it, but I say this ought to become both you and me, that we so speak and act as that the end may be union and a right understanding one with another. And truly if I thought that which was last spoken by Mr. Allen had been satisfactory to that end for which he spake it, I should not have said anything to you. But for that [answer] which he made to the Commissary-[General] of the Parliament’s owning of us,—and what a thing that was to us, and how much tending to the peace of the kingdom!—[as to] what they do own [us in], to say or to think it is but a titular thing that, and [to] think [they do it] but in name only, I think is a very great mistake. For really it did at that time lay the best foundation could be expected for the preventing an absolute confusion in this kingdom, and I think if we had not been satisfied in that, we should not have been satisfied in anything. And to think that this is any weighty argument,—it is but titular,—because they suffer scandalous books [to] flock up and down! I would not look they should

love us better than they love themselves, and how many scandalous books go out of them?¹ And we have given them and the Parliament more to do than to attend [to] scandalous books. I hope that will not weigh there with any man, and I desire that we may put this debate to a conclusion, or else let us answer these things that are really and weightily objected, as truly that was [not]. They had given us as real a testimony [in] that; they cannot give more. They cannot disown us without the losing of all rational and honest people in the kingdom; and therefore let us take it as a very great and high owning of us, let us not disown that owning, if any man would by that which was objected. We would have peace, a perfect settlement of all we seek, and we would march to London to say we forced them! Really, really, have what you will have, that you have by force I look upon it as nothing. I do not know that force is to be used, except we cannot get what is for the good of the kingdom without force. And [yet] all the arguments must tend to this, that it is necessary to use force, to march up with the Army, and not to tarry four days [unless] we shall be baffled, denied, and shall never march up! if the argument was not thus? But [I pray you], still be patient and suffer even to have the ruin of the kingdom as hath been imagined, and expect a speedy answer [to that] which hath been offered, and [do not go about] to make that critical to

¹ *i. e.* what a great number of scandalous books there are against Parliament of which no notice is taken.

us whether they own us or intend to perfect the settlement. As we expect the kingdom would be saved if we do march within four days, if we had these things granted to us, if these things be granted to us, we may march to York. I wish we may respite our determination till that four or five days be over, till we see how things will be, except we will urge reasons to show it to be of absolute necessity to all those ends to determine just now that we will march up to London to-morrow or next day. I am sorry that we be not satisfied with that which hath been proposed as to this very thing, and if having had assurance these things were put into such a way as hath been offered to you, that you will rest contented with this as at this time, except you will show us some absolute reasons.'

Major Tulida thought the Lieutenant-General had put it to a good issue; he was in favour of the honourable way of Treaty, but was bound to say, though he did not blame the Commissioners, that 'we are no further than where we were at Uxbridge'; why were we so afraid to speak of force? 'We cannot have anything unless by the way of advancing to London.'

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'Truly the words spoken by Major Tulida were with affection, but we are rational [and] ¹ I would fain know with what reason or colour of reason he did urge any reason but only with affirmation of earnest words. But for that Declaration of Parliament,

¹ 'but' in text.

that the Parliament hath owned us and taken off that any man can legally or rationally charge us with, if that upon his apprehensions or any man's else we shall quarrel with every dog in the street that barks at us and suffer the kingdom to be lost with such a fantastical thing, I desire that nothing of heat or earnestness may carry us here, nor nothing of affirmation nor nothing of that kind may lead us, but that which is truly reason and that which hath life and argument in it. By that which was alleged of our marching to Uxbridge, [that thereby] we opened those honest men's mouths to speak for us, this is not to be answered with reason, but this is a matter of fact, and better known to some of us than it is to Major Tulida or any of you. 'Tis true there was a fear and an awe upon the Parliament by our marching to Uxbridge, there was something of that, for that those eleven Members were afraid to be in the House. If you will believe, not that which is a fancy, they have voted very essential things to their own purging; and I believe this,—if we will believe that which is the truth in fact,—upon that very one vote that was passed concerning the putting a fine or penalty [on those] that knew themselves to be guilty and that if they did not go out should accuse themselves to be liable to sequestration, I believe there will go twenty or thirty men out of the House of Commons. And if this be [not] an effect and demonstration of the happy progress, and by that use of that liberty that they have had by our drawing

near, I appeal to any man. And if they shall, as I said before, disown us and we give them no cause to do it, but pressing only just and honourable and honest things from them, judge you what can the world think of them and of us? But [if] we shall do that, whilst we are upon the gaining hand, that shall really stop their mouths to open their mouths in a [little]¹ for us; [if we shall do] that, whilst they are as fast as they can gaining the things we desire, if we shall be so impatient, that whilst they are struggling for life [we say] that they are unable to help us, and [that though they have] gained more within these three days than in ten days, for aught I know we may by advancing stop their mouths. They will not have wherewithal to answer that middle party in the House who is answered with this reason, You see the Army is contented to go backward, you see the Army is willing to make fair representations of that they have from us. I profess, I speak it in my conscience, that if we should move until we had made these proposals to them and see what answer they will give them, we shall not only disable them, but divide among ourselves; and I as much fear that as anything. And if we should speak to your satisfactions, you must speak to our satisfactions. Though there be great fears of others, I shall very much question the integrity of any man [that thinks otherwise]; I would not have it spoken.'

¹ 'Tittle' in text.

Cornet Joyce questioned the previous good faith of the Parliament. Mr. Sexby also thought that Parliament owned the Army 'rather out of fear than love'; because the deserters of the Army 'are looked upon, countenanced, and abundantly better paid than we,' and because 'they send to treat with us.' Major Disbrow thought that the only difference of opinion was on the question of marching to London; he pointed out that even if it was resolved to do so the preparations would take four days. Lieutenant Scotton hoped they would waive the marching on London and proceed by Treaty, so long as a real and effectual course was taken. Cornet Spencer said he had just come from the City, where many Officers of the Militia were taking the names of apprentices and causing them to be ready upon an hour's warning.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'Truly, sir, I think neither of these two things that gentleman spoke last are any great news. For the one of them, the listing of apprentices, I doubt they have listed them twice over; but for the other I am sure we have heard of it more than twice over, [that our friends in London] would rejoice to see us come up. But what if we are better able to consult what is for their good than themselves? It is the general good of them and all the people in the kingdom, that is the question; what is for their good, not what pleases them. I do not know that all these considerations are arguments to have satisfaction in these things that we have in proposition. If you be in the right and I in the wrong, if we be divided, I doubt we shall all be in the wrong; whether of them¹ will do

¹ *Unity or division.*

our work, let them speak without declaring. Let us not think that this is a greater argument, that they love those that [have] deserted [us], that they have paid them and not us, which was Mr. Sexby's argument, which if it had weight in it I should have submitted to it. The question is singly this, whether or no we shall not in a positive way desire the answer to these things before we march towards London, when perhaps we may have the same things in the time that we can march. Here is the strictness of the question.'

Major Tulida complained of Cromwell's criticisms and desired that there might be liberty to speak. Colonel Rich said that there were only two things in question; whether the Paper and the five particulars should go and be insisted on, to be presented by the Army Council or the Commissioners; whether they should march on London now or stay four days: he proposed 'to decide it with a question, whether we shall march to London or no.' Lieutenant Chillenden wished the Paper to go, with all things in it. Ireton would have the particulars go but not the Paper, because the proposal to march on London was mentioned in it; and he objected to the phrase 'that they should not only be sequestred but disabled.' Here the account ends. *See Notes.*

5.

**At the General Council of Officers, Putney,
Oct. 28, 1647.**

Fairfax absent. Cromwell said that the meeting was for public businesses, and those who had anything to say might have liberty to speak. Mr. Sexby announced the presence of certain soldiers and gentlemen sent by the Regiments to represent their views. Ireton said that the Committee had been asked to consider *The Case of the Army Stated*, and send for those persons concerned in that Paper; they had done so, and resolved to invite some of those gentlemen to this debate. Mr. Sexby said, they were there to tender their desires and resolutions to maintain them, by request of the Lieutenant-General; he then said that the kingdom's cause required expedition; the causes of this misery were, the endeavour to satisfy all men whereby they had dissatisfied all, the endeavour to please the King when they could not, and the support given to a rotten Parliament; he informed Cromwell and Ireton that they had much blasted their credits and reputations, and hoped they would give consideration to the things that might be offered.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

‘I think it is good for us to proceed to our business in some order, and that will be if we consider some things that are lately past. There hath been a book printed, called *The Case of the Army Stated*, and that hath been taken into consideration, and there hath been somewhat drawn up by way of exception to

things contained in that book. And I suppose there was an answer brought to that which was taken by way of exception, and yesterday the gentleman that brought the answer he was dealt honestly and plainly withal, and he was told, that there were new designs a-driving, and nothing would be a clearer discovery of the sincerity of [their] intentions as their willingness, that were active, to bring what they had to say to be judged of by the General Officers and by this General Council, that we might discern what the intentions were. Now it seems there be divers that are come hither to manifest those intentions according to what was offered yesterday, and truly I think that the best way of our proceeding will be to receive what they have to offer.

Only this, Mr. Sexby. You were speaking to us two [but upon what account I know not], except you think that we have done somewhat, or acted somewhat different from the sense and resolution of the General Council. Truly that that you speak to, was the things that related to the King, and things that related to the Parliament, and if there be a fault I may say it, and I dare say it hath been the fault of the General Council: and that which you do speak you speak to the General Council I hope, though you named us two both in relation to the one and the other. And therefore truly I think it sufficient for us to say, and it is that we say,—I can speak for myself, let others speak for themselves,—I dare maintain it, and I dare avow, I have acted nothing but what I have

done with the public consent, and approbation and allowance of the General Council. That I dare say for myself, both in relation to the one and to the other. What I have acted in Parliament, in the name of the Council or of the Army, I have had my warrant for it from hence. What I have spoken as a Member of the House in another capacity, that was free for me to do; and I am confident, that I have not used the name of the Army or interest of the Army to anything, but what I have had allowance from the General Council for, and thought it fit to move the House in. I do the rather give you this account, because I hear there are some slanderous reports going up and down upon somewhat that hath been offered to the House of Commons [by me] as being the sense and opinion of this Army and in the name of this Army, which, I dare be confident to speak it, hath been as false and slanderous a report as could be raised of a man. And that was this, that I should say to the Parliament,—and deliver it as the desire of this Army and the sense of this Army,—that there should be a second address to the King by way of propositions. I dare be confident to speak it, what I delivered there I delivered as my own sense, and what I delivered as my own sense I am not ashamed of. What I delivered as your sense, I never delivered but what I had as your sense.'

Colonel Rainborow confirmed Cromwell's last statement, saying that he and Cromwell were absent when the motion for a second address was carried, and that they were only

told of it when they 'came upon the Bill,' but 'it was urged in the House that it was the sense of the Army that it should be so.' Ireton also defended himself, but made it clear that he did not belong to the extreme party; 'I do not seek, or would not seek, nor will join with them that do seek the destruction either of Parliament or King; neither will I consent with those or concur with them who will not attempt all the ways that are possible to preserve both, and to make good use and the best use that can be of both for the kingdom . . .'; he then read a letter to the Agitators from the General Council, and Mr. Allen read their reply. Ireton complained that the Agitators wrote as though they were a body distinct from the General Council of the Army, sending fixed resolutions which they did not care to discuss. A Buff-Coat expressed their willingness to give satisfaction, and the answer of the Agitators was read a second time. This answer was the document known as 'The Agreement of the People.' See Notes.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'These things that you have now offered, they are new to us. They are things that we have not at all, at least in this method and thus circumstantially, had any opportunity to consider of them; because they came to us but thus, as you see. This is the first time we [have] had a view of them.

Truly this Paper does contain in it very great alterations of the very government of the kingdom, alterations from that government that it hath been under, I believe I may almost say, since it was a nation; I say I think I may almost say so. And what the consequences of such an alteration as this would be, if there were nothing else to be considered,

wise men and godly men ought to consider; I say, if there were nothing else but the very weight and nature of the things contained in this Paper. And therefore although the pretensions in it and the expressions in it are very plausible, and if we could leap out of one condition into another that had so specious things in it as this hath, I suppose there would not be much dispute [as to that], though perhaps some of these things may be very well disputed. And how do we know if whilst we are disputing these things another company of men shall gather together, and they shall put out a paper as plausible perhaps as this? I do not know why it might not be done by that time you have agreed upon this, or got hands to it, if that be the way; and not only another and another, but many of this kind. And if so, what do you think the consequence of that would be? Would it not be confusion? Would it not be utter confusion? Would it not make England like the Switzerland country, one Canton of the Swiss¹ against another, and one county against another? I ask you whether it be not fit for every honest man seriously to lay that upon his heart? And if so, what would that produce but an absolute desolation, an absolute desolation to the nation? And we in the meantime tell the nation, It is for your liberty, 'Tis for your privilege, 'Tis for your good. Pray God it prove so, whatever course we run.

But truly, I think we are not only to consider what

¹ 'Switz' in text.

the consequences are,—if there were nothing else but this Paper,—but we are to consider the probability of the ways and means to accomplish. That is to say, [to consider whether]¹ according to reason and judgment the spirits and temper of the people of this nation are prepared to receive and to go on along with it, and [whether] those great difficulties [that] lie in our way [are] in a likelihood to be either overcome or removed. Truly to anything that is good, there is no doubt on it, objections may be made and framed, but let every honest man consider whether or no there be not very real objections [to this] in point of difficulty. And I know a man may answer all difficulties with faith,—and faith will answer all difficulties really, where it is,—and we are very apt all of us to call that faith, that perhaps may be but carnal imagination and carnal reasonings. Give me leave to say this, there will be very great mountains in the way of this, if this were the thing in present consideration. And therefore we ought to consider the consequences, and God hath given us our reason that we may do this, and it is not enough to propose things that are good in the end, but it is our duty as Christians and men to consider consequences and to consider the way. But suppose this model were an excellent model and fit for England and the kingdom to receive? But really, I shall speak to nothing but that, that as before the Lord I am persuaded in my heart tends to uniting of us in one, to that that

¹ 'that' in MS.

God will manifest to us to be the thing that he would have us prosecute¹. And he that meets not here with that heart, and dares not say he will stand to that, I think he is a deceiver. I say it to you again and I profess unto you, I shall offer nothing to you but that I think in my heart and conscience tends to the uniting of us, and to the begetting a right understanding among us. And therefore this is that I would insist upon, and have it cleared among us.

It is not enough for us to insist upon good things. That every one would do. There is not forty of us but we could prescribe many things exceeding plausible, and hardly anything worse than our present condition, take it with all the troubles that are upon us. But it is not enough for us to propose good things, but it behoves honest men and Christians, that really will approve themselves so before God and men, to see whether or no they be in a condition, whether, taking all things into consideration, they may honestly endeavour and attempt that that is fairly and plausibly proposed. For my own part I know nothing that we are to consider first but that, before we would come to debate the evil or good of this [Paper], or to add to it or subtract from it. [As to] which I am confident,—if your hearts be upright as ours are, and God will be judge between you and us, if we should come to anything,—you do not bring this Paper with peremptori-

¹ *Unity is the end in view, and the best model is useless if it tends to throw everything into confusion again.*

ness of mind, but to receive amendments, to have anything taken from it that may be made appear to be apparent by clear reason to be inconvenient or dishonest. But this ought to be our consideration and yours, saving [that] in this you have the advantage of us,—you that are the soldiers you have not,—but you that are not [soldiers] you reckon yourselves at a loose and at a liberty, as men that have no obligation upon you. Perhaps we conceive we have; and therefore¹ this is that I may say to the Officers, both to those that come with you and to my fellow Officers and all others that hear me, that it concerns us, as we would approve ourselves before God and before men that are able to judge of us, if we do not make good Engagements, if we do not make good that that the world expects we should make good.

I do not speak to determine what that is, but if I be not much mistaken we have in the time of our danger issued out Declarations. We have been required by the Parliament, because our Declarations were general, to declare particularly what we meant. And having done that, how far that obliges or not obliges, that is by us to be considered, if we mean honestly and sincerely and do approve ourselves to God as honest men. And therefore, having heard this Paper read, this remains to us, that we again review what we have engaged in, and what we have that lies upon us. And he that departs from that, that is a real Engagement and a real tie upon him, I think

¹ Repeated in text.

he transgresses without faith ; for faith will bear upon men in every honest obligation, and God does expect from men the performance of every honest obligation. And therefore I have no more to say but this. We, having received your Paper, we shall amongst ourselves consider what to do, and before we take this into consideration, it is fit for us to consider how far we are obliged and how far we are free. And I hope we shall prove ourselves honest men where we are free to tender anything to the good of the public. And this is that I thought good to offer to you upon this Paper.'

Mr. Wildman thought that under certain circumstances it was right to break Engagements, but that the first thing to do was to consider the honesty of what was now offered. Ireton protested against the idea that no Engagement was binding unless Mr. Wildman thought fit ; he thought that there were plausible things in the Paper, but that the Army should consider their previous Engagements ; he desired that some gentlemen might be specially appointed to that end. Colonel Rainborow complained of being taken from his regiment and sent abroad ; speaking sharply, he attacked Cromwell's previous speech, deriding those who were afraid to face difficulties and alterations, and those who talked of 'division' ; he moved that two or three days might be set apart for every one to consider, and that there might be nothing to deter them.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'Truly I am very glad that this gentleman that spoke last is here, and not sorry for the occasion that brought him hither, because it argues we shall enjoy his company longer than I thought we should

have done¹, and truly then I think it shall not be long enough.

But truly I do not know what the meaning of that expression is, nor what the meaning of any hateful word is here. For we are all here with the same integrity to the public, and perhaps we have all of us done our parts not affrighted with difficulties, one as well as another, and I hope have all purposes henceforward through the grace of God, not resolving in our own strength, to do so still. And therefore truly I think all the consideration [offered by Colonel Rainborow] is, that amongst us we are almost all soldiers. All considerations of that kind, or words of that kind, do wonderfully please us. All words of courage animate us to carry on our business, to do God's business, that which is the will of God. And I say it again, I do not think that any man here wants courage to do that which becomes an honest man and an Englishman to do. But we speak as men that desire to have the fear of God before our eyes, and men that may not resolve in the power of a fleshly strength to do that which we do, but to lay this as the foundation of all our actions, to do that which is the will of God. And if any man have a false deceit on the one hand, deceitfulness, that which he doth not intend, or a persuasion on the other hand, I think he will not prosper; but to that which was moved by Colonel Rainborow of the objections of difficulty and danger of the consequences, they are proposed not to any other end, but [as] things fitting

¹ Rainborow here remarked, 'If I should not be kicked out!'

consideration, not forged to deter from the consideration of the business. But in the consideration of the thing that is new to us, and of everything that shall be new that is of such importance as this is, I think that he that wishes the most serious advice to be taken of such a change as this is,—so evident and clear [a change],—whoever offers that there may be most serious consideration, I think he does not speak impertinently. And truly it was offered to no other end than what I speak. I shall say no more to that.

But to the other, concerning Engagements and breaking of them, I do not think that it was at all offered by anybody, that though an Engagement were never so unrighteous it ought to be kept. No man offered a syllable or tittle [to that purpose]. For certainly it is an act of duty to break an unrighteous Engagement. He that keeps it does a double sin, in that he made an unrighteous Engagement, and [in] that he goes about to keep it. But this was only offered, that before we can consider of [this Paper], and I know not what can be more fitly [done], we labour to know where we are and where we stand.

Perhaps we are upon Engagements that we cannot with honesty break. But let me tell you this, that he that speaks to you of Engagements here is as free from Engagements to the King as any man in all the world. And I know it, if it were otherwise I believe my future actions would provoke some to declare it. But I thank God I stand upon the bottom of my own

innocence in this particular: through the grace of God I fear not the face of any man, I do not.

I say we are to consider what Engagements we have made, and if our Engagements have been unrighteous, why should we not make it our endeavours to break them? Yet if unrighteous Engagements, it is not [fit to make a] present breach of them unless there be a consideration of circumstances. Circumstances may be such as I may not now break an unrighteous Engagement, or else I may do [wrongfully by] that which I did scandalously [before, even] if the thing [aimed at] be good. But if that be true concerning the breaking of an unrighteous Engagement, it is much more verified concerning a disputable Engagement, whether they be righteous or unrighteous. If so I am sure it is fit we should dispute [them], and if when we have disputed them we see the goodness of God enlightening us to see our liberties, I think we are to do what we can to give satisfaction to men. But if it were so as we made an Engagement in judgement and knowledge, so we go off from it in judgement and knowledge.

But there may be just Engagements upon us, such as perhaps it will be our duty to keep, and if so it is fit we should consider. And all that I said [was] that we should consider our Engagements, and there is nothing else offered, and therefore what need anybody be angry or offended? Perhaps we have made such Engagements as may in the matter of them not bind us, in some circumstances they may. Our Engage-

ments are public Engagements. They are to the kingdom, and to every one in the kingdom that could look upon what we did publicly declare, [and] could read or hear it read. They are to the Parliament, and it is a very fitting thing that we do seriously consider of the things. And that this is that I shall shortly offer, that because the kingdom is in the danger it is in, because the kingdom is in that condition it is in, and time may be ill spent in debates and it is necessary for things to be put to an issue,—if ever it was necessary in the world it is now,—I should desire this may be done, that this General Council may be appointed against a very short time, two days, Thursday if you would against Saturday, or at furthest against Monday; that [meanwhile] there might be a Committee out of this Council appointed to debate and consider with those two gentlemen, and with any others that are not of the Army that they shall bring, and with the Agitators of those five regiments, that so there may be a liberal and free debate had amongst us, that we may understand really as before God the bottom of our desires, and that we may seek God together and see if God will give us an uniting spirit.

And give me leave to tell you it again, I am confident there sits not a man in this place that cannot so freely act with you,—if he sees that God hath shut up his way, that he cannot do any service in that way as may be good for the kingdom,—but he will be glad to withdraw himself, and wish you all prosperity. And

if this heart be in us, as is known to God that searches our hearts and trieth the reins, God will discover whether our hearts be not clear in this business. And therefore I shall move, that we may have a Committee amongst ourselves [to consider] of the Engagements, and this Committee to dispute things with others, and a short day [to be appointed] for the General Council. And I doubt not but if in sincerity we are willing to submit to that light that God shall cast in among us, God will unite us and make us of one heart and one mind. And do the plausiblest things you can do, do that which hath the most appearance of reason in it that tends to change at this conjuncture of time, you will find difficulties. But if God satisfy our spirits, this will be a ground of confidence to every good man; and he that goes upon other grounds, he shall fall like a beast. I shall desire this, that you, or any other of the Agitators or gentlemen that can be here, will be here, that we may have free discourses amongst ourselves of things, and you will be able to satisfy each other. And really rather than I would have this kingdom break in pieces before some company of men be united together to a settlement, I will withdraw myself from the Army to-morrow and lay down my Commission. I will perish before I hinder it.'

A Bedfordshire man said that he had been sent to offer the Paper to the Council and not to discuss Engagements; if any one had given wrongful Engagements that was the fault of the particular person; there might be many

dangers in the Paper, but there were more without it; those who thought themselves bound up by Engagements should not hinder 'the people in a more perfect way.' Captain Awdeley desired that a Committee might be appointed. Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe humbly desired that that motion might not die, 'that there might be a seeking of God'; he spoke at length of the way they had gone astray, and hoped they might conveniently meet to-morrow to seek the Lord.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'I know not [but] what Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe means for to-morrow, for the time of seeking God. I think it will be requisite that we do it speedily, and do it the first thing, and that we do it as unitedly as we can, as many of us as well may meet together. For my part I shall lay aside all business for this business, either to convince or to be convinced as God shall please. I think it would be good that to-morrow morning may be spent in prayer, and the afternoon might be the time of our business. I do not know that¹ these gentlemen do assent to it, that to-morrow in the afternoon might be the time.'

Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe thought nothing could prosper unless they sought God.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'If that be approved of, that to-morrow shall be a time of seeking the Lord, and that the afternoon shall be the time of business, if that doth agree with your opinion and general sense, let that be first ordered.'

¹ i. e. 'whether.'

Ireton said that the motion made a great impression on him ; as to the mover 'he hath never spoke but he hath touched my heart' ; every one had need to wait upon God ; he hoped that this motion would be pursued. It was then 'Agreed for the Meeting for Prayer to be at Mr. Chamberlaine's.' Cromwell expressed a hope 'that they should not meet as two contrary parties, but as some desirous to satisfy or convince each other.' Mr. Petty then said that he had done his duty in presenting the Paper, and could not come to 'any further meeting to-morrow or any other time,' to give any reasons why he assented to it. Ireton was sorry 'that they should be so sudden to stand upon themselves.'

Mr. Petty said he was 'utterly unconcerned in the business.' Buff-Coat also said that he had done his part in coming to the meeting as a testimony of fidelity, and could give no Engagements.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'I hope we know God better than to make appearances of religious meetings covers for designs. As for insinuations amongst you, I desire that God, that hath given us some sincerity, will own us according to his own goodness. And that sincerity that he hath given us, I dare be confident to speak it, that that hath been amongst us hitherto, is to seek the guidances of God and to recover that presence of God that seems to withdraw from us ; and it seems as much to us in this as anything, we are not all of a mind. And to accomplish that work which may be for the good of the kingdom, is our end. And for our parts we do not desire or offer you to be with us in our seeking of God further than your own satisfactions lead you, but only against to-morrow in the

afternoon, which will be designed for the consideration of these businesses with you. You will do what you may, to have so many as you shall think fit, to see what God will direct you to say to us, that whilst we are going one way and you another we be not both destroyed. This requires spirit. It may be too soon to say it is my present apprehension; I had rather we should devolve our strength to you, than that the kingdom for our division should suffer loss. For that is in all our hearts to profess, above anything that is worldly, the public good of the people; and if that be in our hearts truly and nakedly, I am confident it is a principle that will stand. Perhaps God may unite us and carry us both one way, and therefore I do desire you that against to-morrow in the afternoon, if you judge it meet, you will come to us to the Quartermaster-General's quarters, where you will find us; if you will come timely to join with us [you will come] at your liberty, if afterwards to speak with us there ¹ you will find us.'

Mr. Wildman then returned to the main business; he objected to the idea that a person once engaged must keep faith though suffering unjustly; the Army were of opinion that a few days might lose the kingdom, and that the way they were proceeding in was just; he desired that only the justice of the thing proposed should be considered and not the Engagements. Ireton answered him, saying that it was very important in general affairs to 'keep covenant one with another'; 'take away that, I do not know what ground there is of anything you can call any

¹ 'and there' in text.

man's right'; the foundation of all right between men was contract and agreement; this was the basis of law. Mr. Wildman questioned whether any agreement could be made as to an unjust thing. They continued to argue this point.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'Let me speak a word to this business. We are now upon that business which we spake of consulting with God about it, and therefore for us to dispute the merit of those things I judge it altogether unseasonable, unless you will make it the subject of debate before you consider it among yourselves. The business of the Engagement[s] lies upon *us*. They¹ are free in a double respect. They made none, and if they did, then the way out is now [made easy]; and [it is a way which all] the members of the Army, except they be sensible [of the folly] of it, [may take], and [may], at one jump, jump out of all [Engagements]: and it is a very great jump I will assure you. As we profess we intend to seek the Lord in the thing, the less we speak in it [now] the better, and the more we cast ourselves upon God the better.

I shall only speak two things to Mr. Wildman in order to our meeting. Methought he said, if there be delay he fears this business will be determined, the propositions will be sent from the Parliament, and the Parliament and King agree, and so those gentlemen that were in that mind to go on in their way will be cut off in point of time to their own dis-

¹ *The Agitators and agents.*

advantage. And the other thing he said was, that these gentlemen who have chosen Mr. Wildman and that other gentleman to be their mouth at this meeting to deliver their minds, they are upon the matter engaged in what they have resolved upon, and they come as engaged men upon their own resolution.

If that be so, I think there neither needs consideration of the former, for you will not be anticipated, if that be so¹ you work accordingly. And [as to the latter, though] you meet us, yet having that resolution in your way you cannot be prevented by any proposition or any such thing. Though we should have come hither, and we should meet to-morrow as a company of men that really would be guided by God, if any come to us to-morrow only to instruct us and [not to] teach us and determine, how far that will consist with the liberty of a free [debate]² or an end of satisfaction I refer to every sober-spirited man to think of. I think it is such a pre-engagement that there is no need of talk of the thing. And I see then if that be so, things are in such an irrevocable way, I will not call it desperate, as there is no hope of accommodation or union, except we receive the counsels³—I will not call it the commands—of them that come to us. I desire that we may rightly understand this thing. If this be so, I do not understand what the end of the meeting will be. If this be not so, that they will [not] draw any man from their Engagements further than the

¹ ? read 'if so be that.'

² 'liberty' in text.

³ 'Councillis' in text.

light of God shall draw them from their Engagements—and I think according to your own principle, if you be upon any Engagement you are liable to be convinced, unless you are infallible—if we may come to an honest and single debate how we may all agree in one common way for public good, if we [may] meet so, we shall meet with a great deal the more comfort and hopes of a good and happy issue and understanding of the business. But if otherwise, I despair of the meeting; or at least I would have the meeting to be of another notion, a meeting that did represent the Agitators of the five regiments to give rules to the Council of War. If it signify this, for my own part I shall be glad to submit to it under this notion. If it be a free debate what may be fit for us all to do with clearness and openness before the Lord, and in that sincerity, let us understand that we may come and meet so. Otherwise I do verily believe we shall meet with prejudice, and we shall meet to [the] prejudice, really to the prejudice of the kingdom and of the whole Army.

Thus, if we be absolutely resolved upon our way and engaged beforehand, the kingdom will see it is such a real, actual division as admits of no reconciliation; and all those that are enemies to us, and friends to our enemies, will have the clearer advantage upon us to put us into inconveniency. And I desire if there be any fear of God amongst us, I desire that we may declare ourselves freely, that we do meet upon these terms.'

Colonel Rainborow returned to the question of breaking Engagements ; he did not believe there was such a division as imagined, but they would hear reason ; ‘a very little delay will undo us.’ A Buff-Coat said, if Engagements proved unjust he would break them, ‘*even at the rate of one hundred a day !*’ Mr. Wildman agreed, if they tended to destruction or were against duty, &c.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

‘I think clearly you were understood to put it upon an issue, where there is clearly a case of destruction, public destruction and ruin. And I think this will bring it into consideration, whether or no our Engagements have really in them that, that hath public destruction and ruin necessarily following ; or whether or no we may not give too much way to our own doubts or fears. And whether it be lawful to break a covenant upon our own doubts and fears will be the issue. And I think [it best], if we agree to defer the debate, to nominate a Committee.’

Colonel Rainborow thought the non-performance of the Engagements of the Army destructive. Ireton remarked that Mr. Wildman’s conclusion was, that the performance of them was destructive. Mr. Wildman, ‘that if such an Engagement were, it does not bind.’ Ireton, whose speech is fragmentary, seems to have said that Wildman’s arguments appeared to be based on the infallibility, justness, and rightness of his own opinions. Mr. Lockyer gathered ‘that destruction is something near,’ and the cause ‘is the going of the proposals to the King’ ; these should ‘be brought hither when they do go, that we may see what they are.’ Cromwell, ‘The question is, whether the propositions will save us or not destroy us. This discourse concludes nothing.’ Captain Merriman, ‘that this Oedipus riddle is un-opened, and this Gordian knot

untied.' Buff-Coat did not wish it to be thought that they avoided the seeking of God. Lieutenant Chillenden hoped 'that these gentlemen of the five regiments their ends are good,' and moved that they 'would willingly come to-morrow, and join with us in our counsels together,' that they would manifest 'a sweet compliance in communicating counsels.'

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'That which this gentleman hath moved I like exceeding well. He hath fully declared himself concerning the freedom of their spirit as to principles. In general they aim at peace and safety, and really I am persuaded in my conscience it is their aim [to act] as may be most for the good of the people; for really if that be not the supreme good to us under God, the good of the people, our principles fall. Now if that be in your spirits and our spirits, it remains that God only shew us the way and lead us [in] the way, which I hope he will.

And give me leave [to add] that there may be some prejudices upon some of your spirits and such men that do affect your way, that they may have some jealousies and apprehensions that we are wedded and glued to forms of government, so that whatsoever we may pretend, it is in vain for to speak to us or to hope for any agreement from us to you. And I believe some [have] such apprehensions, as [that we are engaged to] some part of the Legislative power of the kingdom, where it may rest besides in the Commons of the kingdom. You will find that we are as far from being as particularly engaged to

anything to the prejudice of this—further than the notorious Engagement that the world takes notice of—that we should not concur with you that the foundation and supremacy is in the people, radically in them, and to be set down by them in their representations. And if we do so [agree with you, let us consider] how we may run to that end that we all aim at, or that that does remain, and therefore let us only name the Committee.'

Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe spoke to the removal of some prejudices as to the object of the meeting to seek God, and was certain that if they sought him with open spirits, they would be found going on according to his will. Mr. Wildman seems to have said that he and his friends would come, and asked whether they might have power to debate and to receive further instructions.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'That gentleman says he will do what he can to draw all or the most of them hither to be heard to-morrow; and I desire Mr. Wildman, that if they have any friends that are of a loving spirit, that would contribute to this business of a right understanding, [they will bring them also]. And I say no more but this. I pray God judge between you and us when we do meet, whether we come with engaged spirits to uphold our own resolutions and opinions, or whether we shall lay down ourselves to be ruled [by him], and that which he shall communicate.'

Colonel Rainborow made some remarks, which are so badly reported as to be unintelligible. The Committee was then chosen, 'To confer with the Agitators of the five

regiments, and such gentlemen as shall come with them, about the Engagement now brought in, and their own Declarations and Engagements.'

6.

At the Meeting of the Officers for calling upon God, according to the appointment of the General Council, Putney, Oct. 29, 1647.

Discourses by Commissary Cowling, Major White, and others; speech and prayer by Captain Clarke. Adjutant-General Deane moved to meet at the same place on Monday from 8 to 11, to seek God, &c. Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe made a long speech, in which he referred 'to our compliance with that party which God hath engaged us to destroy. We intended nothing but civility, but I wish they were not in some measure compliances . . .'; he urged the necessity of unity. Mr. Everard said he had done his best to bring the men to this debate, but most were dispersed; his two friends, with him yesterday, had come again; 'we desire once more a compliance in those things that we propounded to you'; great expectation of sudden destruction.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'I think it would not be amiss that those gentlemen that are come would draw nigher.

I must offer this to your consideration, whether or no we having set apart this morning to seek God, and to get such a preparedness of heart and spirit as might receive that that God was minded to have imparted to us, and this having taken up all our time all this day, and it having been so late this last night as indeed it was when we brake up, and we having appointed a Committee to meet together to consider

of that Paper, and this Committee having had no time or opportunity that I know of, not so much as to call a meeting, I make some scruple or doubt, whether or no it is not better [this company discuss to-morrow] that danger which is imagined, and indeed I think it is. But be the danger what it will, our agreement in the business is much more [pressing] than the pressing of any danger, so that by that we do not delay too¹. And that which I have to offer [is], whether or no we are as fit to take up such a consideration of these papers now, as we might be to-morrow. And perhaps if these gentlemen, which are but few, and that Committee should meet together and spend their time together an hour or two the remainder of this afternoon, [it would be well,] and all this company might meet about nine or ten a-clock at furthest, and they [might] understand one another so well as we might be prepared for the General Meeting to have a more exact and particular consideration of things than [we can have] by a general loose debate, of things which our Committee or at least many² of us have [not] had any or at least not many thoughts about.'

Colonel Rainborow regretted that 'indisposition of body' had caused him to go to London and hindered him from being with them that morning; his only objection to the motion was the imminent danger of being in a moment overcome; however, as the Committee had not met, he thought it would not be inconvenient if the gentlemen present spent the other part of the day with them. Mr. Everard spoke, but his speech as reported is confusion.

¹ 'to' in text.

² 'any' in text.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

‘I think it is true. Let us be doing, but let us be united in our doing. If there remain nothing else but present action, I mean doing in that kind, doing in that sort [as you suggest], I think we need not be in Council here. Such kind of action, action of that nature [may be the way], but if we do not rightly and clearly understand one another before we come to act, if we do not lay a foundation of action before we do act, I doubt whether we shall act unanimously or no.

And seriously, as before the Lord, I knew no such end of our speech the last night and [of our] appointing another meeting, but in order to a more perfect understanding of one another what we should do, and that we might be agreed upon some principles of action. And truly if I remember rightly [in] that, upon the delivery of the Paper that was yesterday, this was offered, that the things [that] are now upon us, the things are things of difficulty, the things are things that do deserve therefore consideration, because there might be great weight in the consequences ; and it was then offered, and I hope is still so in all our hearts, that we are not troubled with the consideration of the difficulty nor with the consideration of anything but this, that if we do difficult things we may see that the things we do have the will of God in them, that they are not only plausible and good things but seasonable and honest things fit for us to do. And therefore it was desired, that we might consider before we could come to these Papers, that we might consider

in what condition we stood in respect of former Engagements, which [was agreed], however some may be satisfied with [themselves] that there lie none upon us, or none but such as it is duty to break, [or] it is sin to keep. Therefore that was yesterday premised, [that] there may be a consideration had of them, and I may speak it as in the presence of God, that I know nothing of any Engagements but I would see liberty in any man [to have consideration of them], as I would be free from bondage to anything that should hinder me from doing my duty. And therefore that was first in consideration.

If our obligation be nothing, or if it be weak, I hope it will receive satisfaction why it should be laid aside, that the things that we speak of are not obliged. And therefore if it please you, I think it will be good for us to frame our discourse to what we were, where we are, what we are bound to, what we are free to; and then I make no question, but that this may conclude what is between these gentlemen in one afternoon. I do not speak this to make obligations more than what they were before, but as before the Lord you see what they are ¹. And when we look upon them we shall see that we have been in a wrong way, and I hope it will call upon us for the more double diligence in it.'

Colonel Rainborow misunderstood yesterday's motion; he looked upon the Committee 'as a Committee to look

¹ Mr. Firth suggests that Cromwell here produced the Book of Army Declarations printed by Matthew Simmons in Sept. 1647.

over this Paper to see whether it were a Paper that did hold forth justice and righteousness, whether it were a Paper that honest men could close with'; it would not come to that business to look over all the Engagements in that book. That meant delay, and he thought all were anxious to work quickly; he desired they should read and debate the Paper only.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'I shall but offer this to you. Truly I hope that we may speak our hearts freely here; and I hope that there is not such an evil amongst us, as that we could or would exercise our wits or our cunning to vail over any doubleness of heart that may possibly be in us. I hope, having been in such a presence as we have been this day, we do not admit of such a thought as this into our hearts. And therefore if the speaking of that we did speak before, and to which I shall speak again with submission to all that hear me, if the declining to consider this Paper may have with any man a work upon his spirit through any jealousy that it aims at delay, truly I can speak it as before the Lord, it is not at all in my heart. But sincerely this is the ground of it, I know this Paper doth contain many good things in it, but this is the only thing that doth stick with me, the desiring to know my freedom to this thing. Though this Paper doth suggest that that may be the bottom of all our evils,—and I will not say against it because I do not think against it,—though this doth suggest the bottom of all our evils, yet for all to see ourselves free to this, all of us [so] as we may unanimously join upon this, either

to agree to this, or to add more to it, [or] to alter as we shall agree, this impediment lies in our way; [even] if every man be satisfied with it but myself, this¹ is the first thing to be considered, that we should consider in what condition we stand to our former obligations, that if we be clear we may go off clear, if not we may not go on. If I be not come off [clear] with what obligations are made, if I be not free to act to whatsoever you shall agree upon, I think this is my duty, that I should not in the least study either to retard your work or hinder it or to act against it, but wish you as much success as if I were free to act with you. I desire we may view over our obligations and Engagements that so we may be free upon honest and clear grounds. If this be [possible, it is] my desire.

(Colonel Rainborow offering to speak.)

I have but one word to prevent you in, and that is for imminent danger. It may be possibly so, that that may not admit of an hour's debate nor nothing of delay. If that be so, I think that is above all law and rule to us.'

Colonel Rainborow, 'Divers times we have had cautions given to us to have care of divisions. I do speak it to avoid division, that we may not at this time consider the Engagements.' Commissary Cowling urged the necessity of expedition, the Army being upon free quarter; he supported the Paper. Major White, 'I think it is in all our minds to deliver the kingdom; if there be particular Engagements, we must lay them down to lay down public good.'

¹ 'that this' in text.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

‘I desire to know what the gentleman means concerning particular Engagements; if he means those that are in this book? If those that are in this book, [they are those of the Army]. But if he means Engagements, personal, from particular persons, let every man speak for himself. I speak for myself, I disavow all, and I am free to act, free from any such.’

Major White, ‘I conceive that [if] they be such as are passed by the Representative of the Army, I think the Army is bound in conscience to go on with them.’ Colonel Hewson, ‘All . . . have been by the Representative of the Army, and whether or no that hath not been the cause of this cloud that hangs over our heads.’ Mr. Pettus, ‘I am come in here to give in my reasons why I do approve of this Paper, this Agreement, to receive reasons why it should not be agreed to. For the particular Engagements of the Army I am ignorant of them, but if it please this Council to let this be read, and that either the matter or manner of it may be debated, and when any of the matter shall come to touch upon any Engagement, to break any Engagement, that then the Engagement may be shown . . .’ &c.; he hoped that those who thought themselves bound up ‘would be pleased to rest satisfied in the actions of other men that are at liberty to act for the peace and freedom of the kingdom.’ Ireton denied being under any personal Engagement, ‘but if I were . . . it should not at all stand in any other man’s way’; he reminded the Council of the reputation of the Army and their profession in the guidance of God, as a reason for the consideration of their Engagements; but since ‘it is so much pressed and insisted upon,’ perhaps the clearest way of proceeding would be to ‘read the Paper that is presented here,’ and consider it ‘in reference to our Engagements.’ Major

Rainborow thought so too. The Paper was then called for, and the Agreement read; afterwards the first Article was read by itself¹, and considered. Ireton took exception to the distribution of deputies 'according to the number of the inhabitants'; did this mean that every inhabitant was 'to have an equal voice in the election'? Mr. Pettus and Colonel Rainborow both said yes, and claimed it as the birthright of all Englishmen. Ireton said, if so 'you must fly for refuge to an absolute natural right and you must deny all civil right'; 'I think that no person hath a right to an interest or share in the disposing of the affairs of the kingdom . . . that hath not a permanent fixed interest in this kingdom.' A sharp debate followed on this point between Colonel Rainborow and Ireton; Rainborow concluding with, 'I wish you would not make the world believe that we are for anarchy.'

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'I know nothing but this, that they that are the most yielding have the most wisdom. But really, sir, this is not right, as it should be. No man says that you have a mind to anarchy, but [that] the consequence of this rule tends to anarchy, must end in anarchy. For where is there any bound or limit set, if you take away this [Constitution], that men that have no interest but the interest of breathing [shall have no voice in elections]? Therefore I am confident on it, we should not be so hot one with another.'

Ireton again urged in favour of some kind of qualification. Colonel Rainborow and Mr. Pettus attacked the very idea of property, either as an institution or qualification. An interesting discussion ensued, in which Colonel Rich, Mr. Wildman, Commissary Cowling, Mr. Sexby, and others

¹ See Notes, where 'The Agreement of the People' is printed in full.

joined; Ireton defending himself to some advantage. Mr. Sexby subsequently complained that they had fought to recover their birthrights and privileges as Englishmen, 'but it seems now, except a man hath a fixed estate in this kingdom he hath no right in this kingdom. I wonder we were so much deceived. . . . I shall tell you in a word my resolution. I am resolved to give my birthright to none. Whatsoever may come in the way and be thought, [I am resolved] that I will give it to none.'

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'I confess I was most dissatisfied with that I heard Mr. Sexby speak of any man here, because it did savour so much of will. But I desire that all of us may decline that; and if we meet here really to agree to that which was for the safety of the kingdom, let us not spend so much time in such debates as these are, but let us apply ourselves to such things as are conclusive. And that shall be this. Everybody here would be willing that the Representative might be mended; that is, it might be better than it is. Perhaps it may be offered in that Paper too lamely. If the thing be insisted upon [as] too limited, why perhaps there are a very considerable part of copyholders by inheritance that ought to have a voice, and there may be somewhat too reflects upon the generality of the people. I know our debates are endless if we think to bring it to an issue this way, [but not so] if we may resolve upon a Committee.

If I cannot be satisfied to go so far as these gentlemen that bring this Paper, I say it again, I profess it, I shall freely and willingly withdraw myself, and

I hope to do it in such a manner that the Army shall see that I shall by my withdrawing [be] satisfying the interest of the Army, the public interest of the kingdom, and those ends these men aim at. And I think if you do bring this to a result, it were well.'

Colonel Rainborow, 'I wonder how that should be thought wilfulness in one man that is reason in another, for I confess I have not heard anything that doth satisfy me. . . .' Mr. Sexby, 'I am sorry that my zeal to what I apprehend is good should be so ill resented'; he believed that Cromwell would have had fewer under his command, if he had advertised them of this business, 'that an estate doth make men capable.' Captain Clarke urged moderation, and attempted to turn back the discussion to the question of qualification, holding that ideas of property are the foundations of Constitutions. Captain Audeley complained of the threat of withdrawal, and the delay caused by debate.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'Really for my own part I must needs say whilst we say we would not make reflections, we do make reflections; and if I had not come hither with a free heart to do that that I was persuaded in my conscience is my duty, I should a thousand times rather have kept myself away. For I do think I had brought upon myself the greatest sin that [ever] I was guilty of, if I should have come to have stood before God in that former duty, [or this] which is before you, [without consideration]. And if that my saying, which I did say and shall persevere to say, that I should not, I cannot, against my conscience do anything,—they that have stood so much for liberty of

conscience, if they will not grant that liberty to every man but say it is a deserting [or] I know not what,—if that be denied me, I think there is not that equality that I professed to be amongst us.

I said this and I say no more, that make your business as well as you can, we might bring things to an understanding; it was to be brought to a fair composition, and when you have said if you should put this Paper to the question without any qualifications, I doubt whether it would pass so freely; if we would have no difference we ought to put it. And let me speak clearly and freely, I have heard other gentlemen do the like, I have not heard the Commissary-General answered, not in a part to my knowledge, not in a tittle. If therefore when I see there is an extremity of difference between you, [I speak] to the end it may be brought nearer to a general satisfaction, and if this be thought a deserting of that interest, if there can be anything more sharply said, I will not give it an ill word. Though we should be satisfied in our consciences in what we do, we are told we purpose to leave the Army or to leave our commands, as if we took upon us to do it in matter of will. I did hear some gentlemen speak more of will than anything that was spoken this way, for more was spoken by way of will than of satisfaction, and if there be not a more equality in our minds I can but grieve for it, I must do no more.'

Ireton, 'Reflections do necessitate, do call upon us to vindicate ourselves, as if we who have led men into

Engagements and services, that we had divided because we did not concur with them'; he asked whether, when they engaged with the Army, 'they thought of any more interest or right in the kingdom than this'? whether from the beginning they did not engage for the liberty of Parliament? he held to his original views as to qualifications, though he was perfectly ready to agree to reform and a more equal distribution of Elections. Colonel Rainborow then spoke. Mr. Pettus seems to have said that, as they were Engaged for the liberties of the people, the Constitution now in existence ought to be annulled if not for freedom; this doubtless conveyed a hint, that he was surprised at people so Engaged supporting the existing Constitution.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'Here is the mistake, [the whole question is] whether that is the better Constitution in that Paper or that which is. But if you will go upon such a ground as that is, [to hint that] although a better Constitution was offered for the removing of the worse, yet some gentlemen are resolved to stick to the worse, there might be a great deal of prejudice upon such an apprehension. I think you are by this time satisfied that it is a clear mistake, for it is a dispute whether or no this be not better; nay, whether it be not destructive to the kingdom.'

Mr. Pettus, Ireton, and Colonel Rainborow returned to their argument. Captain Rolfe, speaking of the franchise, desired 'a composure in relation to servants or to foreigners.' Lieutenant Chillenden desired a speedy end to this business, and asked that the Committee should be chosen, as moved by Cromwell, to consider the Paper with the Engagements. Sir Hardress Waller also desired that

a period might be put to this debate. Ireton repeated his objections to the proposed alterations of the present Constitution. Cromwell, 'If we should go about to alter these things I do not think we are bound to fight for every particular proposition. Servants, while servants, are not included. Then you agree that he that receives alms is to be excluded.' This and the following speeches by Lieutenant-Colonel Reade and Mr. Pettus appear to be misplaced; they refer probably to Captain Rolfe. Mr. Everard made a long speech, relating his moderate attitude towards the two contending parties, and regretting this long debate. Sir Hardress Waller also complained of these disputings.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'I think you say very well, and my friend at my back he tells me that [there] are great fears abroad, and they talk of some things such as are not only specious to take a great many people with, but real and substantial, and such as are comprehensive of that that hath the good of the kingdom in it. And truly if there be never so much desire of carrying on these things, never so much desire of conjunction, yet if there be not liberty of speech to come to a right understanding of things, I think it shall be all one as if there were no desire at all to meet. And I may say it with truth, that I verily believe there is as much reality and heartiness amongst us [as amongst you] to come to a right understanding and to accord with that that hath the settlement of the kingdom in it, though when it comes to particulars we may differ in the way. Yet I know nothing but that every honest man will go as far as his conscience will let

him, and he that will go farther I think he will fall back. And I think when that principle is written in the hearts of us, and when there is not hypocrisy in our dealings, we must all of us resolve upon this, that it is God that persuades the heart; if there be a doubt of sincerity it is the Devil that created that effect, and it is God that gives uprightness. And I hope it is with such an heart that we have all met withal. If we have not, God find him out that came without it; for my part I do it.'

Cromwell appears to have taken no further part in the debate, which continued for some time. The Committee met on Saturday, Oct. 30, and their decisions are recorded in the Worcester College MS. under the heading 'At the Committee of Officers appointed to consider of the Agreement and compare it with Declarations¹.'

7.

At the General Council of the Army, Putney,
Nov. 1, 1647.

'The Lieutenant-General first moved, That every one might speak their experiences as the issue of what God had given in answer to their prayers.'

Captain Allen then expressed his opinion, that the work before them was to take away the Negative voice of the King and Lords. A Report read from Colonel Lambert's regiment intimated that the Officers had broken their Engagements. Captain Carter 'found not any inclination in his heart, as formerly. to pray for the King, that God would make him yet a blessing to the kingdom.' Commissary Cowling thought the sword 'the only thing that

¹ See fol. 64-66, Worcester College MS.

had from time to time recovered our rights.' Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburne was unable to agree with the last speaker, and thought previous opinions 'not of God.'

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'To that which hath been moved concerning the Negative vote, or things which have been delivered in papers, and otherwise may present a real pleasing, I do not say that they have all pleased ; for I think, that the King is King by contract, and I shall say, as Christ said, "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone." And mind that word of bearing one with another, [as] it was taught us to-day. If we had carried it on in the Parliament and by our power, without anything [being said of] that kind¹, so that we could say we were without transgression, I should then say it were just to cut off transgressors ; but considering that we are in our own actions failing in many particulars, I think there is much necessity of pardoning of transgressors.

For the actions that are to be done, and those that must do them, I think it is their² proper place to conform to the Parliament that first gave them their being, and I think it is [in]considerable whether they do contrive to suppress the power[s] of that power or no, if they do continue to suppress them. And how they can take the determination of commanding men, conducting men, quartering men, keeping guards, without an authority otherwise than from

¹ 'without anything is laid on that kind' in text.

² i.e. the Officers and Agitators of the Army.

themselves, I am ignorant of. And therefore I think there is much [need] in the Army to conform to those things that are within their sphere. For those things that have been done in the Army, as this of *The Case of the Army truly Stated*, there is much in it useful and to be condescended to, but I am not satisfied how far we shall press [it]. Either they are a Parliament, or no Parliament. If they be no Parliament, they are nothing and we are nothing likewise. If they be a Parliament, [I would say] we are to offer it to it, if I could see a visible presence of the people either by subscriptions or number; for in the government of nations that which is to be looked after is the affections of the people. And that I find which satisfies my conscience in the present thing [is this].

[The Jews,] they were first [divided into] families where they lived, and had heads of families, and they were first under Judges and [then] they were under Kings. When they came to desire a king, they had a king, first elective and secondly by succession. In all these kinds of government they were happy, and in all these governments they were happy and contented with it. And if you make the best of it [so may you be]. If you should change the government, to the best of it it is but a moral thing. It is but as St. Paul says, "dross and dung in comparison of Christ," and why we shall so far contest for temporal things [I know not]. Yet, if we cannot have this freedom ¹ [we are told] we will venture life and

¹ *Freedom to meddle with the Legislation of Parliament.*

livelihood for it! When every man shall come to this condition, I think the State will come to desolation. And therefore the considering of what is fit for the kingdom does belong to the Parliament,—well composed in their creation and election,—how far I shall leave it to the Parliament to offer it. There may be care that the elections or forms of Parliament are very illegal, as I could name but one, for a Corporation to choose two. I shall desire that there may be a form for the electing of Parliaments and another thing, that [as] there is no assurance to the people but that it is perpetual, [somewhat may be added] which does satisfy the kingdom as [to] the perpetuity of the Parliament; and for other things that are to the King's negative vote, as may cast you off wholly, it hath been the resolution of the Parliament and of the Army. If there be a possibility of the Parliament's offering these things unto the King as may secure us, I think there is much may be said for the doing of it.

As for the present condition of the Army I shall speak something of it. For the conduct of the Army, I perceive there are several declarations from the Army by calling rendezvous and otherwise, and disobligations to the General's order. I must confess I have a Commission from the General and I understand that I am to do by it. I shall conform to him according to the rules and discipline of war, and according to those rules I ought to be conformable. And therefore I conceive it is not in the power of any

particular men to call a rendezvous of a troop or regiment, or at least to disoblige the Army from those commands of the General, which must be destructive to us in general or any particular man in the Army. [I am certain] that this way is destructive to the Army and to every particular man in the Army. I have been informed by some of the King's party, that if they give us rope enough we will hang ourselves, [and so we shall] if we do not conform to the rules of war. And therefore I shall move what we shall centre upon. If it have but the face of authority, if it be but an hare swimming over the Thames, [we]¹ will take hold of it rather than let it go.'

Lieutenant Chillenden then spoke. Mr. Allen desired to stand by the resolution in the 'Case of the Army' to adhere to the Declarations of June 14, June 23, and Aug. 18. Lieutenant-Colonel Jubbes submitted certain queries, whether the Parliament could yet be purged, whether it would then be desirous of giving satisfaction, whether the King might not be declared guilty of all the bloodshed, whether Parliament might not reject the King's Act of Oblivion and do justice. Colonel Rainborow moved that the papers of the Committee might be read. Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe objected to Cromwell's suggestion that what was spoken by one of the company was not the mind of the Lord², and thought that something spoken by others might be the 'mind of the Lord': they had sinned against the Lord in tampering with his enemies.

¹ 'he' in text.

² It will be observed that Cromwell does not say this, but Goffe doubtless refers to the general meaning of the speech.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

‘I shall not be unwilling to hear God speaking in any, but I think that God may [as well] be heard speaking in that which is to be read as otherwise.

But I shall speak a word in that which Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe said, because it seems to come as a reproof to me, and I shall be willing to receive a reproof when it shall be in love, and shall be [so] given. But that which he speaks was, that at such a meeting as this we should wait upon God and the voice of God speaking in any of us. I confess it is an high duty, but when anything is spoken [as from God] I think the rule is, let the rest judge. But when anything is spoken, it is left to me to judge for my own satisfaction and the satisfaction of others, whether it be of the Lord or not, and I do no more. And I do not judge conclusively, negatively, that it was not of the Lord, but I do desire to submit it to all your judgements whether it was of the Lord or no? And I did offer some reasons which did satisfy me, I know not whether I did others. But if in those things we do speak, and pretend to speak from God, there may be mistakes of fact, if there be a mistake in the thing, in the reason of the thing, truly I think it is free for me to shew both the one and the other, if I can. Nay, I think it is my duty to do it, for no man receives anything in the name of the Lord further than [to] the light of his conscience appears. I can say in the next place, and I can say it heartily and freely as to the matter he speaks, I must confess

I have no prejudice, not the least thought of prejudice upon that ground ; I speak it truly as before the Lord. But this I think ; that it is no evil advertisement to wish¹, in our speeches of righteousness and justice, to refer us to any Engagements that are upon us. And that which I have learnt in all [our] debates, I have still desired,—[that] we should still consider where we are, and what Engagements are upon us, and how we ought to go off as becomes Christians. And this is all that I aimed at, and I do aim at. And I must confess I had a marvellous reverence and awe upon my spirit when we came to speak,—let us speak one to another what God hath spoken to us,—and as I said before, I cannot say that I have received anything that I can speak as in the name of the Lord ; not that I can say that anybody did speak that which was untrue in the name of the Lord, but upon this ground, that when we say we speak in the name of the Lord, it is of an high nature.’

Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe made an apology for what he had said before. Mr. Allen thought the King might be set up, if it could be done consistent with the liberties of the kingdom, if not, ‘then down with him.’ Colonel Rainborow thought Mr. Allen spoke as if himself or some others there were against the name of King and Lords. Mr. Sexby thinks ‘that we have gone about to heal Babylon, when she would not ; we have gone about to wash a Blackamore, to wash him white, which he will not.’ A long speech is here attributed to Cromwell, but was clearly made by Ireton, whose style is very similar. It opens with the phrase ‘I cannot but renew that caution that we should

¹ ‘*wish us*’ in text.

take heed what we speak in the name of the Lord.' If this refers to Goffe's speech, it is unlikely to have been said by Cromwell, whose previous answer to it drew forth an apology; it would be very unlike him to rake into sores, after such a pleasant exchange of courtesies. Moreover when Mr. Wildman attacks the argument, Ireton promptly responds as the speaker, and continues the argument to the end of the proceedings: Cromwell takes no further part. The speech deals with the main difference of opinion—whether an interest could be given to the King and Lords with safety to the kingdom, or whether it could not. Ireton, Wildman, and others argue this at length, the subject shifting to the constitutional position and history of King and Lords, and the question of continuity of Parliaments. The last question has some bearing on Cromwell's first speech. Ireton asserts that Mr. Wildman and his friends would have Parliament meet, but say neither when nor where, whereas he and his friends prefer an Act for Biennial Parliaments. This account concludes as follows: 'Resolved, that the Council be adjourned till tomorrow and so from day to day till the proposals be all debated, and the same Committee to meet again.'

8.

Speech at the General Council, Putney, Nov. 8, 1647.

[Substance only.]

'The Lieutenant-General spoke much to express the danger of their principles who had sought to divide the Army, that the first particular of that which they called The Agreement of the People did tend very much to anarchy, that all those who are in the kingdom should have a voice in electing Representatives.

Captain Bray made a long speech to take off what

the Lieutenant-General said, and that what he called anarchy was for propriety.

Lieutenant-General moved, to put it to the question, Whether that the Officers and Agitators be sent to their quarters, or yea, or no?

Resolution upon the question, yea!'

9.

Speech in the House of Commons, upon the Vote of
No Addresses, Jan. 3, 164 $\frac{7}{8}$.

[Substance only.]

'Cromwell urged, that it was now expected the Parliament should govern and defend the kingdom by their own power and resolutions, and not teach the people any longer to expect safety and government from an obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened; that those men who had defended the Parliament from so many dangers with the expense of their blood, would defend them herein with fidelity and courage against all opposition. Teach them not, by neglecting your own and the kingdom's safety, in which their own is involved, to think themselves betrayed and left hereafter to the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemy,—whom they have subdued for your sake, and therefore are likely to find his future government of them insupportable and fuller of revenge than justice,—lest despair teach them to seek their safety by some other means than adhering to you, who will

not stick to yourselves. How destructive such a resolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to judge.'

10.

Speech at the General Council, on being asked to declare himself whether he would go to Ireland, or not, in command of the Parliamentary Army, Whitehall, March 23, 1648⁸.

'I told them also my will could not but be subject to those that were over me, barely considered as matter of will; yet inasmuch as this business is of so great importance as it is, it was fit for me in the first place to consider, how God would incline my heart to it, how I might by seeking of him receive satisfaction in my own spirit as to my own particular. Not that I would put any terms upon the State in relation to myself, but that I would be glad to see a freeness and a clearness in my spirit to the work. And a second consideration was, that if their Lordships did think that the naming of a Commander-in-Chief might be some satisfaction to persons, to officers and soldiers to go, that it was very fit for me to have a little consideration to that in relation to them, that I might not be an occasion by any interest of mine to improve that interest to draw men over, and not to be well satisfied concerning a just and fitting provision for them before they went. And in the last place, the work being so weighty, I did think that it would require many things. I had had no serious thoughts

of the business, and therefore [held it not fitting] for me to give [such] an answer, that they might give the Council an answer, That they had not only made [their offer of] "Commander-in-Chief" [but] that it was accepted by him. I did think fit that they should return back [this reply] to them, That, I having taken time till the beginning of next week, I hope no resolution will be expected from me before that time.

I do confess, my Lord, I should desire that this business of Ireland I might not go upon it out of any personal respects whatsoever, and I would have personal respects far from this Army. I do not think that God hath blessed this Army for the sake of any one man, nor has his presence been with it upon any such ground; but that presence and blessing that God hath afforded this Army, it hath been of his own good pleasure, and to serve his own turn. That presence and blessing that he hath afforded us has been for his own name's sake, because he would do amongst the sons of men what seemed good in his eyes for the bringing of his glory and purpose to pass; and upon this score has this Army undertaken all that it hath undertaken in the presence of God. It matters not who is our Commander-in-Chief, if God be so; and if God be amongst us, and his presence be with us, it matters not who is our Commander-in-Chief. Truly I do believe that God hath so principled our Army that there is none amongst us [but] that if God should set us out [under] any man,

we should come to this, to submit to one another in this for the work's sake. Therefore I would that we¹ might think of this,—What is this business of Ireland? What are our considerations in relation to England, to Scotland, to friends here or there, or enemies anywhere? And if we, taking considerations of that kind, and seeking directions from his guidance, [work together] and answer the best guide that he shall give us, [I doubt not but he will bless us]. And therefore I shall be bold to offer to you some thoughts of mine and some considerations, which perhaps will best serve to ripen your resolutions as to this undertaking, that so you may [have your] undertaking from the Lord.

You know how it hath pleased God to beat down all your enemies under your feet, both in this kingdom and the kingdom of Scotland; and you have with simplicity of heart made this opposition to those enemies upon those honest and religious grounds, and that it is fit for godly, and honest, and religious men to propose to themselves. And God hath brought the war to an issue here, and given you a great fruit of that war, to wit, the execution of exemplary justice upon the prime leader of all this quarrel into the three kingdoms, and [upon] divers persons of very great quality who did co-operate with him in the destruction of this kingdom. Truly notwithstanding you have brought this work to this issue, yet it seems your work is not at an end. You have yet another

¹ 'I' in text, written over.

enemy to encounter with, and friends to stand by. The interest you have fought for [you have] yet further to make good, not only to the end you may be able to resist those that have been heretofore your enemies, and are still your enemies, and are more enraged, and are not warned by those examples and those witnesses that God hath witnessed for you. But, [some will say,] they are removed at a further distance! But they are joined together in strong combination to revive the work here again, that is certainly [they are] in the kingdom of Scotland, [and] in the kingdom of Ireland. In the kingdom of Scotland you cannot so well take notice of what is done, nor of this that there is a very angry, hateful spirit there against this Army, as an Army of Sectaries, which you see all their papers do declare their quarrel to be against. And although God hath used us as instruments for their good, yet hitherto they are not sensible of it, but they are angry that God brought them his mercy at such an hand; and this their anger, —though without any quarrelling of ours with them,— will return into their own bosoms, for God did do the work without us; and they that are displeased with the instruments, their anger reaches to God and not to [those that serve] him. And you see they have declared the Prince of Wales their King, and endeavours are both here and there with that party to do what they can to co-operate with them to cause all this work to return again, and to seek the ruin and destruction of those that God hath ordained to be

instrumental for their good. And I think you are not ignorant that a great party here does co-operate in the work and their spirits are embittered against us, [even]¹ though they might know, that if God had not used this poor Army instrumentally to do what they have done, they had not had a being at this time. But such is the good pleasure of God as to leave them to the blindness of their minds.

I must needs say I do more fear,—not that I do think there is a ground to fear it will be,—but as a poor man that desires to see the work of God to prosper in our hands, I think there is more cause of danger from disunion amongst ourselves than by anything from our enemies; and I do not know anything [that is] greater [danger] than that. And I believe, and I may speak with confidence, till we admire God and give him glory for what he has done [there is such danger]; for all the rest of the world, Ministers and profane persons, all rob God of all the glory and reckon it to be a thing of chance that has befallen them. Now if we do not depart from God and disunite by that departure and fall into disunion amongst ourselves, I am confident, we doing our duty and waiting upon the Lord, we shall find he will be as a wall of brass round about us till we have finished that work that he has for us to do. And yet not to be sensible that this is the rage and malice of our enemies. . . . I wish that they may see their error, those that are good amongst them, and repent, but

¹ 'and' in text.

certainly this wrath of theirs shall turn to their hurt, and God will restrain the remainder that it shall not hurt us.

In the next place we are to consider Ireland. All the Papists and the King's party, I cannot say all the Papists but the greatest party of them, are in a very strong combination against you, and they have made an union with those apostate forces that were under Inchiquin and the Confederate Catholics of Ireland; and all that party are in a very strong combination against you. The last letters that the Council of State had from thence do plainly import, that Preston has 8,000 foot and 800 horse, that Taaffe has as many, that my Lord Clanricarde has the same proportion, that my Lord Inchiquin and my Lord Ormond have a matter of 3,000 foot and 800 horse, that these are all agreed and ready in conjunction to root out the English interest in Ireland and to set up the Prince of Wales his interest there likewise, and to endeavour as soon as they can to attempt upon our interest in Leinster and Ulster and Connaught. In all [of] which provinces we have an interest, but in Munster none at all. And though [we are fortunate in] that interest we have in these three provinces, it is not so considerable but if these Confederate forces shall come upon them, it is more than probable, without a miracle from heaven, that our interest will easily be eradicated out of those parts. And truly this is really believed, if we do not endeavour to make good our interest there, and that timely, we

shall not only have, as I said before, our interest [rooted]¹ out there, but they will in a very short time be able to land forces in England, and to put us to trouble here. And I confess I have had these thoughts with myself, that perhaps may be carnal and foolish. I had rather be over-run with a Cavalierish interest [than]² a Scotch interest; I had rather be over-run with a Scotch interest than an Irish interest; and I think of all, this is the most dangerous, and if they shall be able to carry on this work they will make this the most miserable people in the earth. For all the world knows their barbarism,—[I speak] not [of those] of any [one] religion, almost any of them but in a manner [are] as bad as Papists,—and you see how considerable they are at this time. And truly it is thus far, that the quarrel is brought to this state, that we can hardly return unto that tyranny that formerly we were under the yoke of, which through the mercy of God hath been lately broken, but we must at the same time be subject to the kingdoms of Scotland, or the kingdom of Ireland for the bringing in of the King. Now it should awaken all Englishmen, who perhaps are willing enough he should have come in upon an accommodation. But now he must come from Ireland or Scotland!

This being so, I would not have this Army now so much to look at considerations that are personal, whether or no we shall go if such a Commander go or such a Commander go, and make that any part

¹ 'voted' in text.

² 'of' in text.

of our measure or foundation: but let us go, if God go. If that we be still in our calling, prosecuting that cause that hitherto we have been engaged in, and [if] the opposing those enemies be a part of that cause,—wherein we desire that there may be no personal respects in it,—and if we be satisfied in our judgements and consciences that he is in it, [I would] that you would let this be your motive. And I do profess it as before the Lord of Heaven, and as in his presence, I do not speak this to you that I would shift at all from the command or in any sneaking way or in any politic [way] lead you to an engagement, before I declare my thoughts in the thing, whether I go or stay, as God shall incline my heart to [it]. And if you undertake it upon these grounds, I am confident there will not be so much dispute amongst those who shall go as who shall stay. My meaning is, you will, every honest heart that sees a freedom of their ways, will rather be whetted on out of love to God and duty to God, to go where he may do him most service, rather than stay, besides I say, except it be that God cast [hindrances] in men's ways by necessity of relations or laying any law upon men's hearts, and besides that [that] may otherwise hinder them. I do not speak this as thinking but that he may be as honest a man that does desire to go or stay. Doing service to God and giving glory to God will be the best motive to this work, aye, it will be much better to have considerations of this kind, than to lay this as the foundation, who shall command in chief. For

my own part though the Council of State hath put that upon me, yet I have desired them to give me till Tuesday to give in my answer. [I desire you therefore now] to give your resolutions as to the particular regiments that are to go in that kind, and to state what other demands you will make for your going that will enable those to go and to have a subsistence when they go.'

Somebody, whose name is not given, gave details of the proposed force, '8,000 foot, 3,000 horse, and 1,200 dragoons,' but Sir Hardress Waller 'made some objections, that he thought the work would not go forward till it be known whether the Commander-in-Chief named will go or not.'

Cromwell. 'I offer this, that the Army do move for such provisions as may be fit for honest men to ask; and if you go upon that account I think my resolution will be known before yours, and that will be properly in the nature of things. It will be best and fittest for you to consider of that first, if there be a designed part of the Army to go, as there will probably. I hope we are such a generation of men. I am sure God so binds us about as with a garment, therefore we are to look one upon another, all of us being ready to do it as if it were our own case. And therefore I think, in order to your proceedings, it will be better to consider who shall go and what is due to him and to provide for him. And truly this will spend as much time as Tuesday next comes to, as to the point of arrears, and of provision what will serve for honest men to carry on the work.'

11.

Speech in the House of Commons, narrating the late proceedings against the Levellers, Saturday, May 26, 1649.

[Substance only.]

‘Lieutenant-General Cromwell being come post to town the last night, made a narrative this day to the House of the Army’s proceeding against those termed Levellers; and how they are suppressed, and the design, by God’s providence, prevented from further going on within the kingdom, which otherwise might have been very dangerous, and destructive to the whole nation; the discontents before mentioned in the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, and other castles thereabouts, allayed and all in quiet. The House hereupon ordered, that the thanks of the House should be given to Lieutenant-General Cromwell for his great care and courage in this business against the Levellers. Mr. Speaker, according to the said resolution, stood up, and gave him the hearty thanks of the House accordingly.’

12.

Speech to the people of Dublin on his arrival,
Wednesday, Aug. 15, 1649.

[Substance only.]

‘The winds being favourable, quickly brought them to Dublin, where they were received with all the signs of joy imaginable; the great guns echoed forth their welcome, and the people’s acclamations resounded in

every street. When Cromwell, the now Lord Governor, was come into the City,—the concourse of people being very great to see him, whom before they had heard so much of,—at a convenient place he made a stand, and in a humble posture, having put his hat in his hand, he speaks thus to the people: That as God had brought him thither in safety, so he doubted not but, by his divine providence, to restore them all to their just liberties and proprieties; and that all those whose heart's affections were real for the carrying on of the great work against the barbarous and bloodthirsty Irish, and the rest of their adherents and confederates, for the propagating of the Gospel of Christ, the establishing of truth and peace, and restoring that bleeding nation to its former happiness and tranquillity, should find favour and protection from the Parliament of England and himself; and withal should receive such endowments and gratuities as should be answerable to their merits.

This speech was highly applauded by the people, and answer returned by many hundreds, that they would live and die with him.'

13.

Speech in reply to the congratulations of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London on his safe return from Ireland, at his lodgings near Whitehall, Friday, May 31, 1650.

[Substance only.]

'This week the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London visited the Lord Cromwell at his

lodgings near Whitehall, and the Recorder not being well in health, Mr. Sadler, the Town-Clerk of the City, made a Speech, acknowledging God's great mercy in carrying his Excellency through so many difficulties in Ireland, and bringing him victoriously hither again, &c. Unto which his Lordship made a modest reply, returning the praise and glory thereof to God alone.'

14.

Speeches, in Committee, to the Lord General Fairfax, as to the proposed invasion of Scotland; Whitehall, June 25, 1650.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

'My Lord General, we are commanded by the Council of State to confer with your Excellency, touching the present design,—whereof you have heard some debate in the Council,—of marching the army under your command into Scotland. And because there seemed to be some hesitation in yourself as to that journey, this Committee were appointed to endeavour to give your Excellency satisfaction in any doubts of yours which may arise concerning that affair, and the grounds of that resolution of the Council for the journey into Scotland.'

The Lord General, in reply to other speeches of a like nature, states, 'That I think it doubtful, whether we have a just cause to make an invasion upon Scotland. With them we are joined in the national League and Covenant,' &c.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

‘ I confess, my Lord, that if they have given us no cause to invade them, it will not be justifiable for us to do it ; and to make war upon them without a sufficient ground for it will be contrary to that which in conscience we ought to do, and displeasing both to God and good men. But, my Lord, if they have invaded us, as your Lordship knows they have done, since the national Covenant, and contrary to it in that action of [the] D[uke] of Hamilton, which was by order and authority from the Parliament of that kingdom, and so the act of the whole nation by their representatives ;

And if they now give us too much cause of suspicion, that they intend another invasion upon us, joining with their King, with whom they have made a full agreement without the assent or privity of this Commonwealth, and are very busy at this present in raising forces and money to carry on their design ;

If these things are not a sufficient ground and cause for us to endeavour to provide for the safety of our own country, and to prevent the miseries which an invasion of the Scots would bring upon us, I humbly submit it to your Excellency’s judgement.

That they have formerly invaded us, and brought a war into the bowels of our country, is well known to all : wherein God was pleased to bless us with success against them. And that they now intend a new invasion upon us, I do as readily believe, and have as good intelligence of it as we can have of anything that is not yet acted.

Therefore I say, my Lord, that upon these grounds I think we have a most just cause to begin, or rather to return, and requite their hostility first begun upon us ; and thereby, to free our country,—if God shall be pleased to assist us, and I doubt not but he will,—from the great misery and calamity of having an army of Scots within our country. That there will be war between us, I fear is unavoidable. Your Excellency will soon determine, whether it be better to have this war in the bowels of another country or of our own. And that it will be in one of them, I think it without scruple.’

The Lord General thinks so too, but would rather stand on ‘defence’; probabilities of war not being sufficient grounds to make war.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

‘I suppose your Excellency will be convinced of this clear truth, that we are no longer obliged by the League and Covenant, which they themselves did first break.’

His Excellency is not convinced, however, but says he is willing to lay down his Commission.

Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

‘I am very sorry your Lordship should have thoughts of laying down your Commission, by which God hath blessed you in the performance of so many eminent services for the Parliament. I pray, my Lord, consider all your faithful servants, us who are officers, who have served under you, and desire to serve under no other General. It would be a great

discouragement to all of us, and a great discouragement to the affairs of the Parliament, for our noble General to entertain thoughts of laying down his Commission. I hope your Lordship will never give so great an advantage to the public enemy, nor so much dishearten your friends, as to think of laying down your Commission.'

15.

Speech to the Council of Officers, Jan. 165 $\frac{2}{3}$.

[Substance only.]

'That if they should trust the People in an Election of a New Parliament, according to the old Constitution, it would be a tempting of God, and that his confidence was, that God did intend to save and deliver this Nation by a few, as he had done in former times, and that five or six men, and some few more, setting themselves to the work, might do more in one day, than the Parliament had or would do in a hundred, as far as he could perceive; and that such unbiassed men were like to be the only instruments of the people's happiness.'

16.

Speech to Sheriff Estwicke and divers Aldermen of the City of London, May 20, 1653.

[Substance only.]

'Upon Friday last divers Aldermen and Sheriff Estwicke presented a petition to the Lord General to

have the old Parliament called again. The General told them, that what was done was done upon advice and debate before it was done, and it hath been since debated; that he and the officers of the Army were well satisfied in what was done, and that there had come no complaints to them from the people of what was done; that the King's head was not taken off because he was King, nor the Lords laid aside because Lords, neither was the Parliament dissolved because they were a Parliament, but because they did not perform their trust. He told them, that if any disturbances should hereafter arise about what was done, that should occasion the spilling of blood, he should suspect them to be the abettors and promoters thereof, warned them to look to the peace, and so sent back our wise men,' &c.

17.

The Lord General Cromwell's speech, delivered in the Council-Chamber upon the 4th of July, 1653, to the persons then assembled and intrusted with the Supreme Authority of the Nation.

'Gentlemen,

I suppose the Summons that hath been instrumental to bring you hither gives you well to understand the cause of your being here. Howbeit, having something to impart, which is an Instrument drawn up by the consent and advice of the principal Officers of the Army,—which is a little, as we conceive, more

significant than that other¹ of summons,—we have that here to tender you. And we have somewhat likewise further to say to you for our own exoneration, and we hope it may be somewhat further to your satisfaction; and therefore seeing you sit here somewhat uneasy by reason of the scantiness of the room and the heat of the weather, I shall contract myself with respect to that.

I have not thought it amiss a little to mind you of that series of providence, wherein the Lord hitherto hath dispensed wonderful things to these nations, from the beginning of our troubles to this very day. If I should look much backward, we might remember the state of affairs as they were before the short, and that which was the last Parliament. In what a posture the things of this nation stood, doth so well I presume occur to all your memories and knowledges, that I shall not need to look so far backward, nor yet to the beginning of those hostile actions that passed between the King that was and the then Parliament. And indeed should I begin this labour, the things that would fall necessarily before you, would rather be fit for a history than for a discourse at this present.

But thus far we may look back. You very well know, after divers turnings of affairs, it pleased God, much about the midst of this war, to winnow, as I may so say, the forces of this nation and to put them into the hands of men of other principles than

¹ 'than the letter of,' *Milton State Papers*.

those that did engage at the first. By what strange providences that also was brought about, would ask more time than is allotted me to remember you of. Indeed there are stories that do recite those transactions and give narratives of matter of fact, but [they are not particular in] those things wherein the life and power of them lay, those strange windings and turnings of providence, those very great appearances of God in crossing and thwarting the designs of men, that he might raise up a poor and contemptible company of men, neither versed in military affairs nor having much natural propensity to them, even through the owning of a principle of godliness,—of Religion. Which so soon as it came to be owned and the state of affairs put upon the foot of that account, how God blessed them and all undertakings by the rising of that most improbable, despicable, contemptible means,—for that we must for ever own,—you very well know.

What the several successes have been is not fit to mention at this time neither, though I must confess I thought to have enlarged myself upon this subject, forasmuch as the considering the works of God, and the operation of his hands, is a principal part of our duty, and a great encouragement to the strengthening of our hands and of our faith for that which is behind. And then having given us those marvellous dispensations amongst other ends, for that was a most principal end, as to us in this revolution of affairs and issues of those successes God was pleased to give

this nation and the authority that then stood, were very great things brought about ; besides those dints that were upon those nations and places where they were carried on¹, even in the civil affairs, to the bringing offenders to justice even the greatest ; to the bringing the state of this government to the name at least of a Commonwealth ; to the searching and sifting of all places and persons ; the King removed and brought to justice and many great ones with him ; the House of Peers laid aside ; the House of Commons, the representative of the people of England, itself winnowed, sifted and brought to a handful, as you may very well remember.

And truly God would not rest there,—for by the way, although it be fit for us to entitle our failings and miscarriages to ourselves, yet the gloriousness of our work may well be attributed to God himself, and may be called his strange work ;—you may remember well that at the change of the government there was not an end of our troubles, although that year were such things transacted as indeed make it to be the most memorable year, I mean 1648, that ever this nation saw ; so many insurrections, invasions, secret designs, open and public attempts, quashed in so short a time, and this by the very signal appearances of God himself, [which]² I hope we shall never forget. You know also, as I said before, that as the effect of that memorable year, 1648, was to lay the

¹ ' where the war was carried on,' *Milton State Papers*.

² *Milton State Papers*.

foundation of bringing delinquents to punishment, so it was of the change of the government, although it be true, if we had time to speak, the carriages of some in trust, in most eminent trust, was such, as would have frustrated to us the hopes of all our undertakings had not God miraculously prevented,—I mean, by that closure that would have been endeavoured by the King, whereby we should have put into his hands all that cause and interest we had opposed, and had nothing to have secured us but a little piece of paper. But things going [on]¹, how it pleased the Lord to keep this nation in exercise both at sea and land, and what God wrought in Ireland and Scotland you likewise know, until the Lord had finished all that trouble upon the matter by the marvellous salvation wrought at Worcester.

I confess to you I am very much troubled in my spirit, that the necessity of affairs doth require that I should be so short in these things, because I told you before, this is the leanest part of the transaction, to wit an historical narration; there being,—in every dispensation, whether the King's going from the Parliament, the pulling down the Bishops, purging the House at that time by their going away to assist the King, change of government, whatever it was,—not any of those things but hath a remarkable point of providence set upon it, that he that runs may read. Therefore I am heartily sorry that in point of time

¹ 'out' in text. Corrected on p. 27, *Errata*. 'That thing going off' in *Milton State Papers*.

I cannot be particular in those things which I did principally design this day, thereby to provoke and stir up your hearts and mine to gratitude and confidence.

I shall now begin a little to remember you the passages that have been transacted since Worcester fight; whence coming with my fellow officers and soldiers, we expected, and had some reasonable confidence that our expectations should not be frustrate, that the authority that then was, having such a history to look back unto, such a God that appeared for them so eminently,—so visibly that even our enemies many times confessed that God himself was engaged against them, or they should never have been brought so low, nor disappointed in every undertaking; for that may be said by the way, had we miscarried but once, where had we been?—I say, we did think, and had some reasonable confidence, that coming up then, the mercies that God had shewed, the expectations that were in the hearts of all good men, would have prompted those in authority to have done those good things, which might by honest men have been judged a return fit for such a God and worthy of such mercies, and indeed a discharge of duty to those for whom all these mercies have been shewed, that is, the interest of the three nations, the true interest of the three nations. And if I should now labour to be particular in enumerating some businesses that have been transacted from that time till the dissolution of the late Parliament, indeed

I should be upon a theme [which] would be very troublesome to myself. For I must say for myself and fellow officers, we have rather desired and studied healing, than to rake into sores and look backward, to render things in those colours that would not be very well pleasing to any good eye to look upon. Only this we must say for our own exoneration¹, and as thereby laying some foundation for the making evident the necessity and duty that was incumbent upon us to make this last great change. I think it will not be amiss to offer a word or two in that, not taking pleasure to rake into the business were not there some kind of necessity so to do.

Indeed we may say, without commending ourselves,—I mean myself and those gentlemen that have been engaged in the military affairs,—that upon our return, we came fully bent in our hearts and thoughts to desire and use all fair and lawful means we could, to have had the nation to reap the fruit of all that blood and treasure that had been expended in this cause; and we have had many desires and thirstings in our spirits to find out ways and means, wherein we might anyways be instrumental to help it forward. And we were very tender for a long time so much as to petition,—till August last, or thereabouts, we never offered to petition,—but some of our then Members, and others, having good acquaintance and relation to divers Members of the Parliament, we did from time to time solicit that which we thought, if there had

¹ 'vindication' in *Milton State Papers*.

been nobody to prompt them, nobody to call upon them, would have been listened to out of ingenuity and integrity in them that had opportunity to have answered our expectations. And truly when we saw nothing would be done, we did, as we thought according to our duty, remind them by a petition, which petition I suppose the most of you have seen, which we delivered either in July or August last. What effect that had, is likewise very well known. The truth is, we had no return at all [that was satisfaction for us, but]¹ a few words given us. The business petitioned for, most of them, we were told, were under consideration; and those that were not, had very little or no consideration at all.

Finding the people dissatisfied in every corner of the nation, and bringing home to our doors the non-performance of those things that had been promised and were of due to be performed, we did think ourselves concerned. We endeavoured, as became honest men, to keep up the reputation of honest men in the world, and therefore we had divers times endeavoured to obtain a meeting with divers Members of Parliament; and truly we did not begin this till October last, and in those meetings did in all faithfulness and sincerity beseech them, that they would be mindful of their duty to God and man, and of the discharge of their trust to God and man. I believe these gentlemen, that are many of them here, can tell that we had at the least ten or twelve meetings, most

¹ 'that the satisfaction for us, was but' in text; corrected in Errata.

humbly begging and beseeching them, that of their own accords they would do those good things that had been promised, that so it might appear they did not do them by any suggestion from the Army but of their own ingenuity: so tender were we to preserve them in the reputation and opinion of the people to the uttermost. And having had many of those meetings, and declaring plainly that the issue would be the judgement and displeasure of God against them, the dissatisfaction of the people and the putting things into a confusion, yet how little we did prevail, we well know, and we believe is not unknown to you.

At the last, when we saw indeed that things would not be laid to heart, we had a serious consideration amongst ourselves what other way to have recourse unto. And when indeed we came to those close considerations, they began to take the Act of the New Representative to heart and seemed exceeding willing to put it on; the which, had it been done, or would it have been done, with that integrity, with that caution, that would have saved this cause and the interest we have been so long engaged in, there could nothing have happened to our judgements more welcome than that would have been. But finding plainly that the intendment of it was not to give the people that right of choice, all thought it had been but a [seeming]¹ right, the seeming to give the people that choice [which was]

¹ 'asending right eilher the seeming' in text. See Notes.

intended and designed to recruit the House the better to perpetuate themselves. And truly [divers of us being spoken to]¹, to that end that we should give way to it,—a thing to which we had a perpetual [aversion]², which we did abominate the thoughts of,—we always declared our judgements against it and our dissatisfaction. But yet, they [that] would not hear of a Representative before,—it lay three years before them without [their] proceeding with one line considerably in it,—they, that would not endure to hear of it, then, when we came to our close considerations, then, instead of protracting, they did make as much preposterous haste [on]³ the other hand and ran into that extremity. And finding that this spirit was not according to God, and that the whole weight of this cause, which must needs have been very dear unto us who have so often adventured our lives for it, and we believe is so to you, when we saw plainly that there was not so much consideration how to assert it, or to provide security for it, [as]⁴ indeed to cross these that they reckoned the most troublesome people they had to deal with, which was the Army, which by this time was sufficiently their displeasure; when we saw this, truly, that had power in our hands,—to let the business go to such an issue as this, was to throw back the cause into the hands of them we first fought with,—we came to this first conclusion amongst

¹ 'truly having divers of us spoken to' in text: corrected in Errata.

² *Milton State Papers*; 'aversation' in text.

³ 'of' in text.

⁴ 'and' in text.

ourselves, that if we had been fought out of it, necessity would have taught us patience; but [that if it were] to be taken from us so unworthily, we should be rendered the worst people in the world, and we should become traitors both to God and man. And when God had laid this to our hearts, and we found that the interest of his people was grown cheap and not laid to heart, and [that] if we came to competition of things the cause, even among themselves, would even almost in everything go to the ground, this did add more consideration to us that there was a duty incumbent upon us. And truly, I speak it in the presence of some that are here, that were at the close consultations,—[held] I may say as before the Lord,—the thinking of an act of violence was to us worse than any engagement that ever we were in yet, and worse to us than the utmost hazard of our lives that could be, so unwilling were we, so tender were we, so desirous were we, if it were possible, that these men might have quit their places with honour. And truly this I am the longer upon because it hath been in our hearts and consciences, our justification, and hath never yet been imparted [thoroughly]¹ to the nation. And we had rather begin with you to do it, than to have done it before, and do think indeed that these transactions be more proper for a verbal communication, than to have put it into writing. I doubt, whosoever had put it on [paper] would have been tempted to have dipt his pen in anger and

¹ 'thorow' in text.

wrath¹. But affairs being at this posture that we saw plainly and evidently in some critical things, that the cause of the people of God was a despised thing, truly then we did believe that the hands of other men, must be the hands that must be trusted with it, and then we thought [it] high time for us to look about us and to be sensible of our duty.

If I should take up your time to tell you what instances we have to satisfy our judgements and consciences, that these were [not]² vain imaginations and things that were petitioned for, but [things] that fell within the compass of our certain knowledge and sense, should I repeat these things to you, I should do that which I would avoid, to rake into these things too much. Only this. If any body were in competition for any place of real and [signal]³ trust, how hard and difficult a thing it were to get anything to be carried without making parties, without things indeed unworthy of a Parliament! And when things must be carried so in a supreme authority, indeed I think it is not as it ought to be. But when it came to other trials, [as] in that case of Wales, which I must confess for my own part I set myself upon, if I should inform [you] what discountenance that business of the poor people of God there had, who had watchings over them, men like so many wolves ready to catch the lamb as soon as it was brought out into the

¹ 'whosoever had penned it would have dipped his pen in vinegar.'
Tanner MS. 52.

² 'most' in text: corrected in Errata.

³ 'finall' in text: corrected in Errata.

world ; [if I should inform you] how signally they threw that business under foot to the discountenancing of the honest people there, and to the countenancing of the malignant party of this Commonwealth—I need but say it was so ; many have felt by sad experience it was so, who will better impart that business to you. Which, for myself and fellow officers, I think it was as perfect [a]¹ trial of their spirits as anything, it being known to many of us that God kindles a seed there, indeed hardly to be paralleled since the primitive times. I would this had been all the instances, but finding which way their spirits went, and finding that good was never intended to the people of God,—I mean, when I say so, that large comprehension of them under the several forms of godliness in this nation,—when I saw that tenderness was forgotten to them all, though it was very true that by their hands and means, through the blessing of God, they sat where they did, and [the late] affrays, not to speak it boastingly, had been instrumentally brought to that issue they were brought to by the hands of those poor creatures, we thought this an evil requital. I will not say that they were at the uttermost pitch of reformation, although I could say that [in regard to] one thing, the regulation of the Law, so much groaned under in that posture it now is in. There were many words spoken for it. We know [that] many months together was not time enough to pass over one word

¹ *Corrected in Errata.*

called "Incumbrances." I say, finding that this was the spirit and complexion of them, [although]¹ these were faults for which no man should have dared to lift his hand simply for their faults and failings, [yet when]² we saw their intendment was to perpetuate themselves and men of this spirit,—for some had it from their own mouths, from their own designs, who could not endure to hear of being dissolved,—[we thought]³ this was an high breach of trust. If they had been a Parliament, never violated, sitting as free and as clear as ever any sat in England, yet if they would go about to perpetuate themselves, we did think this to be so high a breach of trust, as greater could not be. And we did not go by guess in this, and to be out of doubt in it we did, having [had] that conference among ourselves whereof we gave account, we did desire once more the night before the dissolution, and it had been in our desires some two or three days before, that we might speak with some of the principal persons of the House, that we might with [ingenuity]⁴ open our hearts to them, to the end that we might be either convinced of the ground of their principles and intentions to the good of the nation, or if we could not be convinced [that] they would hear our offer or expedient to prevent this mischief. And indeed we could not prevail for two or three days, till the night before the dissolution. There is a touch of this in that our Declaration, we

¹ 'that though' in text.

³ *Milton State Papers.*

² 'when yet' in text.

⁴ 'enuity' in text: corrected in Errata.

had often desired it ; at that time we attained. There were above twenty of them, who were Members, not of the least consideration for interest and ability, with whom we desired to discourse those things, and had discourse with them. And it pleased the gentlemen, [the] Officers of the Army, to desire me to offer their sense to them, and indeed it was shortly carried thus. We told them, that the reason of our desire to wait upon them was that we might know from them, what security lay in the way of their proceeding so hastily with their Representative, wherein they had made a few qualifications, such as they were, and how the whole business should be executed we have no account of. And we desired them they would be pleased [to inform us] ; and we thought we had an interest in our lives, estates, and families, as well as the worst people of the nation, and that we might be bold to ask satisfaction in that ; and [we told them] if they did proceed in honest ways, as might be safe to the nation, we might acquiesce therein. When we pressed them to give satisfaction in this, the answer was made, that nothing could be good for the nation but a continuance of this Parliament. We wondered that we should have such a return, [yet] we said little to that, but seeing that they would not give us that which might satisfy us that their way was honest and safe, [we begged] they would give us leave to make our objections. We did tell them, that we thought that way they were going in would be im-

practicable; we could not tell them how it would be brought to pass, to send out an Act of Parliament into the country, to have qualifications in an Act to be the rules of electors and elected, and not to know who should execute this. [We] desired to know whether the next Parliament were not like to consist of all Presbyters? Whether those qualifications would hinder them? or Neuters? And though it be our desire to value and esteem [those] of that judgement, only, they having been as we know, having deserted this cause and interest upon the King's account and upon that closure between them and the neighbour nation, we do think, we must profess we had as good as delivered up our cause into the hands of any, as into the hands of interested and biassed men. For it is one thing to live friendly and brotherly, to bear with and love a person of another judgement in religion, another thing to have any so far set into the saddle upon that account, as that it should be in them to have all the rest of their brethren at mercy. Having had this discourse, making these objections, of bringing in Neuters, or such as should impose upon their brethren, or such as had given testimony to the King's party; and objecting to the danger of it, in drawing the concourse of all people to arraign every individual person, which indeed did fall obviously in; and [objecting that] the issue would certainly have been the putting it into the hands of men that had little affection to this cause, the answer again was made,—and it was con-

fessed by some that these objections did lie,—but answer was made by a very eminent person at the same time as before, that nothing would save the nation but the continuance of this Parliament. This being so we humbly proposed an expedient of ours, which was indeed to desire, that the government being in that condition it was, and the things being under so much ill sense abroad and so likely to come to confusion in every respect if it went on, so we desired they would devolve the trust over to persons of honour and integrity that were well known, men well affected to religion and the interest of the nation ; which, we told them—and [it] was confessed,—had been no new thing when these nations had been under the like hurly-burly and distractions. And it was confessed by them, it had been no new thing. We had been at labour to get precedents to convince them of it, and we told them that these things we offered out of that deep sense we had of the good of the nations and the cause of Christ. And being answered to that, [that] nothing would save the nation but the continuance of that Parliament¹,—although they would not say they would perpetuate it at that time least of all, but [we] finding their endeavours did directly tend to it,—they gave us this answer, that the things we had offered were of a tender and very

¹ ‘*And being answered to that*’ refers to the Members’ argument ‘*that nothing would save the nation . . .*’ We had been at labour to get precedents to convince them of the contrary, whereupon they shifted their ground and said the things we offered were of weighty consideration.

weighty consideration; they did make objections how we should raise the money and some other objections. We told them, that that we offered as an expedient, because we thought [it] better than that for which no reason was, or [we] thought would be given. We desired them to lay the thing seriously to heart. They told us they would take consideration of these things till the morning, that they would sleep upon them, [and consult some friends, though, as I said, there was about twenty there]¹ and I think that there was scarce any day that there sat above fifty or fifty-two or fifty-three. At the parting two or three of the chief ones, the very chiefest of them, did tell us that they would endeavour the suspending the proceedings of the Representative the next day, till they had a further conference; and [upon this we had great satisfaction]², and we did acquiesce, and had hope, if our expedient would take up a loving debate, [that] the next day we should have some such issue of our debate as would have given satisfaction to all. They went away late at night, and the next morning, we considering how to order that which we had to offer to them when they were to meet in the evening, word was brought they were proceeding with a Representative with all the eagerness they could. We did not believe persons of such quality could do it. A second and a third messenger told us they had almost finished it, and had brought it to that issue with that haste that had never been before, leaving out the things

¹ *Milton State Papers.*² *Ibid.*

that did necessarily relate to due qualifications, as we have heard since, resolved to make it a Paper Bill, not to Engross it, that they might make the quicker dispatch of it, thus to have thrown all the liberties of the nation into the hands that never bled for it. Upon this account we thought it our duty not to suffer it, and upon this the House was dissolved ¹.

This we tell you that you may so know, that what hath been done in this dissolution of this Parliament, was as necessary to be done as the preservation of this cause; and that [the] necessity that led us to do that, hath brought us to this issue of exercising an extraordinary way and course to draw yourselves together upon this account, that you are men who know the Lord, and have made observations of his marvellous dispensations, and may be trusted with this cause.

It remains, (for I shall not acquaint you further with that that relates to your taking upon you this great business, that being contained in this paper in my hand, which I do offer presently to you to read,) having done that which we thought to have done upon this ground of necessity, which we know was not feigned necessity but real and true, to the end [that] the government might not be at a loss, to the end [that] we might manifest to the world the singleness of our hearts and integrity, who did those things not to grasp after the power ourselves, to keep

¹ *Milton State Papers* add 'even when the Speaker was going to put the last question.'

it in a military hand, no not for a day, [it remains], as far as God enables us with strength and ability, to put it into the hands that might be called from [the] several parts of the nation. This necessity I say, and we hope we may say for ourselves, this integrity of labouring to divest the sword of the power and authority in the civil administration of it, hath moved us to conclude of this course [of bringing you hither]; and having done that, we think we cannot with the discharge of our consciences but offer somewhat unto you, as I said before, for our own exoneration, it having been the practice of others, who have voluntarily and out of sense of duty divested themselves [of authority] and devolved the government into the hands of others, it having been the practice where such things have been done, and very consonant to reason, together with the authority to lay a charge in such a way as we hope we do, and to press to the duty : [concerning] which we have a word or two to offer to you.

Truly God hath called you to this work by, I think, as wonderful providences as ever passed upon the sons of men in so short a time; and truly I think, taking the argument of necessity, for the government must not fall, [taking] ¹ the appearances of the will of God in this thing, I am sure you would have been loathe it should have been resigned into the hands of wicked men and enemies; I am sure God would not have it so. It comes therefore to you by way of necessity, it

¹ 'take' in text.

comes to you by the way of the wise providence of God, though through weak hands. And therefore I think, it coming through our hands, though such as we are, it may not be taken ill if we offer to you something as to the discharge of that trust which is incumbent upon you. And although I seem to speak that which may have the face of a charge, it is a very humble one, and he that means to be a servant to you, who are called to the exercise of the supreme authority, [desires only] to discharge that which he conceives is his duty in his own and his fellows' names to you, I hope who will take it in good part. And truly I shall not hold you long in that, because I hope it is written in your hearts to approve yourselves to God only.

This Scripture I shall remember to you, which hath been much upon my spirit, Hosea eleven and [the] twelfth verse¹, *Yet Judah ruleth with God, and is faithful among the Saints*; it is said before, *Ephraim did compass God about with lies and Israel with deceit*. How God hath been compassed about with fastings and thanksgivings, and other exercises and transactions, I think we have all cause to lament. Why truly you are called by God to rule with him and for him, and you are called to be faithful with the Saints, who have been somewhat instrumental to your call. He that ruleth over men, the Scripture saith, he must be just, ruling in the fear of God.

¹ 'Hosea 11 and 12 verse' in text.

And truly it is better to pray for you than to counsel you in that, that you may exercise the judgement of mercy and truth. I say it is better [to pray] for you to do it, than to advise you; [better] to ask wisdom from heaven for you, which I am confident many thousands of Saints do this day, and have done and will do through the permission of God and his assistance, [than] to advise you. Only truly I thought of a Scripture likewise that seems to be but a Scripture of common application to every man as a Christian, wherein he is counselled to ask wisdom. And he is told what is that wisdom that is from above; it is pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of good fruits, without partiality, without hypocrisy. And my thoughts ran thus upon this, that the executing of the judgement of truth,—for that is the judgement,—that you must have wisdom from above for; and that is pure. That will teach you to execute the judgement of truth. And then, if God give you hearts to be easy to be entreated, to be peaceable spirits, to be full of good fruits, bearing good fruits to the nation, to men as men, to the people of God, to all in their several stations, this wisdom will teach you [to] execute the judgement of mercy and truth; and I have little more to say to this, I shall rather bend my prayers for you in that behalf as I said before, and I know many others do also. Truly the judgement of truth will teach you to be as just towards an unbeliever as towards a believer; and it is our duty to do so. I confess I have often said it foolishly,

if I would miscarry, I would rather do it to a believer than to an unbeliever. Perhaps it is a paradox, but let us take heed of doing it to either, [of] exercising injustice to either. If God fill our hearts with such a spirit as Moses and Paul had, which was not only a spirit for the believers among the people of God, but for the whole people he would have died for them, and so Paul to his countrymen according to the flesh he could have died for them, truly this will help us to execute the judgement of truth and mercy also.

A second thing is, to desire you would be faithful with the Saints. And I hope, whatever others may think, [it] ought to be to us all [a] matter of rejoicing, that as one person, our Saviour, was touched with our infirmities that he might be pitiful, [so] I do think this Assembly, thus called, is very much touched with the common infirmities of the Saints. And I hope that will teach you to pity others, that so Saints of one sort may not be our interest, but that we may have respect unto all, though of different judgements. And if I did seem to speak anything that might reflect upon those of the Presbyterian judgement, I think if you have not an interest of love for them, [you] will hardly answer this faithfulness to his Saints. I confess in my pilgrimage and some exercises I have had abroad, I did read that Scripture often in Isaiah forty-one, [verse] nineteen¹, when God gave me and some of my fellows what he would there and elsewhere, which he performed for us. And what would

¹ 'Isaiah 41 & 19' in text.

he do? to what end? *That he might plant in the wilderness the cedar and the shittah tree, and the myrtle and palm tree together. To what end? That they might know and consider, and understand together that the hand of the Lord hath done this; and that the Lord hath created it,* that he wrought all salvation and deliverance which he hath wrought, for the good of the whole flock. Therefore I beseech you,—but I think I need not,—have a care of the whole flock. Love all the sheep, love the lambs, love all, and tender all, and cherish all, and countenance all in all things that are good. And if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, should desire to live peaceably and quietly under you, soberly and humbly desire to lead a life in godliness and honesty, let him be protected.

I think I need as little advise you concerning the propagation of the Gospel, and encouraging such Ministers and such a Ministry as be faithful in the land, upon whom the true character is; men that have truly received the spirit for such a use, which Christians will be well able to discern, and do; men that have received gifts from him, that ascended on high and led captivity captive, for the work before mentioned. And truly the Apostle, Romans xii, when he had summed up all the mercies of God and the goodness of God, and hath discoursed of the foundations of the Gospel and of the several things that are the subject of his discourse in the first eleven chapters, after he hath besought them to offer up their souls

and bodies a living sacrifice to God, he beseecheth [them] not to esteem more highly of themselves than they ought, but that they would be humble and sober-minded, and not stretch themselves beyond their line, but they would have a care to those that had received gifts to these uses there mentioned. I speak not, it is far from my heart, for a Ministry deriving itself through the Papacy and pretending to that which is so much insisted upon to be succession. The true succession is through the Spirit, given in that measure that the Spirit is given, and that is a right succession. But I need not discourse of these to you; I am persuaded you are taught of God in a greater measure than myself in these things.

Indeed I have but one more word to say, and that is, though in that perhaps I shall shew my weakness, it is by way of encouragement to you to go on in this work. And give me leave to begin thus. I confess I never looked to see such a day as this, it may be nor you, when Jesus Christ shall be owned as he is this day and in this world. Jesus Christ is owned this day by you all, and you own him by your willingness in appearing here, and you manifest this, as far as poor creatures can, to be a day of the power of Christ by your willingness. I know you remember that Scripture in Psalm cx. 3, *The people shall be willing in the day of thy power.* God doth manifest it to be a day of the power of Jesus Christ, having through so much blood and so much trials as have been upon these nations, made this to be one of the great

issues thereof, to have a people called to the supreme authority upon an avowed account. God hath owned his Son by this, and you by your willingness do own Jesus Christ. And therefore for my part I confess, I did never look to see such a sight. Perhaps you are not known by face one to another; but we must tell you this, that indeed we have not allowed ourselves in the choice of one person, in whom we had not this good hope, that there was faith in Jesus Christ and love unto all his Saints and people.

And thus God hath owned you in the face and eyes of the world, and thus by your coming hither have you owned him, as it is in Isaiah xliii. 21. It is an high expression, and look to your own hearts whether, now or hereafter, God shall apply it to you. *This people*, saith he, *I have formed for myself, that they might shew forth my praise.* It is a memorable place, and I hope not unfitly applied. God apply it to each of your hearts. I shall not descant upon the words; they are plain. You are as like the forming of God as ever people were. If any man should ask you one by one and should tender a book to you, you would dare to swear, that neither directly nor indirectly did you seek to come hither. You have been passive in coming hither, in being called hither; and that is an active word, *This people have I formed.* Consider the circumstances by which you are called together, through what difficulties, through what strivings, through what blood you are come hither. Neither you nor I, nor no man living, three months ago had

a thought to have seen such a company, taking upon them, or rather being called to the supreme authority. And therefore know [now your call]¹. Indeed I think, as it may be truly said, that there never was a supreme authority, consisting of so numerous a body as you are, which I believe are above 140, were [ever]² in the supreme authority under such a [notion]³, in such a way of owning God and being owned by him. And therefore I say also, never a people formed for such a purpose, so called, if it were time to compare your standing with those that have been called by the suffrages of the people. Who can tell how soon God may fit the people for such a thing, and who would desire anything more in the world but that it might be so? I would all the Lord's people were prophets, I would they were fit to be called and fit to call, and it is the longing of our hearts to see them once own the interest of Jesus Christ. And give me leave to say, if I know anything in the world, what is there [more]⁴ like to win the people to the interest and love of God? Nay, what a duty will lie upon you to have your conversation such, as that they may love you, that they may see you lay out your time and spirits for them? Is not this the most likely way to bring them to their liberties, and do you not by this put it upon God to find the time and

¹ 'know your are called' in text : corrected in Errata.

² 'even' in text : corrected in Errata.

³ 'nation' in text : corrected in Errata.

⁴ 'what is there like' in text : corrected in Errata.

the season for it by pouring forth his Spirit, at least by convincing them, that as men fearing God have [fought]¹ them out of their thralldom and bondage under the [regal]² power, so men fearing God rule them in the fear of God and take care to administer good unto them? But this is some digression. I say, own your call; for indeed it is marvellous and it is of God, and it hath been unprojected, unthought of by you and us. And that hath been the way God hath dealt with us all along, to keep things from our eyes, [so] that [in] what we have acted we have seen nothing before us; which is also a witness in some measure to our integrity. I say, you are called with a high call; and why should we be afraid to say or think, that this way may be the door to usher in things that God hath promised and prophesied of, and [so]³ set the hearts of his people to wait for and expect? We know who they are that shall war with the Lamb against his enemies; they shall be a people, called, chosen, and faithful. And [God] hath in the military way,—we must speak it without flattery, I believe you know it,—he hath acted with them and for them; and now [he will act with them] in the civil power and authority. These are not ill prognostications for that good we wait for. Indeed I do think something is at the door. We are at the threshold, and therefore it becomes us to lift up our

¹ 'sought' in text: corrected in Errata.

² 'legal' in text: corrected in Errata.

³ 'to' in text.

heads and to encourage ourselves in the Lord. And we have some of us thought it our duty to endeavour this way, not vainly looking on that prophecy in Daniel, *And the Kingdom shall not be delivered to another people*¹. Truly God hath brought it into your hands by his owning and blessing, and calling out a military power. God hath persuaded their hearts to be instrumental in calling you ; and this hath been set upon our hearts and upon all the faithful in the land, it may be that it is not our duty to deliver it over to any other people, and that the Scripture may be fulfilling now to us, but I may be beyond my line. But I thank God I have my hopes exercised in these things, and so I am persuaded are yours.

Truly seeing that these things are so, that you are at the edge of the promises and prophecies,—at least if there were neither promise for this, nor prophecy²,—[you should be sensible of] your [duty], coveting the best things, endeavouring after the best things. And as I have said elsewhere, if I were to choose the meanest officer in the Army or Commonwealth, I would choose a godly man that hath principles ; especially where a trust is to be committed, because I know where to have a man that hath principles. I believe if any man of you should choose a servant, you would do so, and I would all our Magistrates were so chosen ; that may be some effects of this [meeting]. It is our

¹ *Daniel ii. 44.*

² *Milton State Papers*, 'nor prophecy, yet you are carrying on the best things.'

duty to choose men that fear the Lord, who praise the Lord, yea, such as the Lord forms for himself, and he expects not praises from others. This being so, it puts me in mind of another Scripture, Psalm lxxviii, which indeed is a glorious prophecy, and I am persuaded of the Gospel, or it may be of the Jews also. There it is prophesied, *He will bring his people again out of the depths of the sea*¹, as once he led Israel through the Red Sea; and it may be some do think God is bringing the Jews home to their station from the *isles of the sea*², [but] 'surely when God sets up the glory of the Gospel-Church it shall be [a] gathering [of] people out of deep waters, out of the multitude of waters, [of] such [as] are his people, drawn out of the multitudes of the nations and people of the world. And that Psalm will be very glorious in many other parts of it, *When he gave the word, great was the company of them that published it. Kings of the armies did fly apace and she that tarried at home divided the spoil. And although ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove covered with silver and her feathers with yellow gold.* And indeed the triumph of that Psalm is exceeding high and great, and God is accomplishing it. And the close of it, that closeth with my heart and I am persuaded with yours also. That God, *shakes hills and mountains and they reel*, and God hath a hill too, *and his hill is as the hill of Bashan, and the chariots of*

¹ verse 22, 'I will bring them again from the depths of the sea.'

² *Isaiah lx and Ezek. xxvi.* 18.

God are twenty thousand of Angels, and God will dwell upon this hill for ever.

Truly I am sorry that I have troubled you, in such a place of heat as this is, so long. All that I have to say in mine own name and in the names of my fellow-Officers, who have joined with me in this work, [is], that we shall commend you to the grace of God and to the guidance of his Spirit. Having thus far served you,—or rather our Lord Jesus Christ in it,—we are as we hope, and shall be, ready in our stations according as the providence of God shall lead us to be subservient to the work of God and the authority which we reckon God hath set over us. And although we have no formal thing to present you with, to which the hands and the outward visible expressions of the hearts of the Officers of the three nations are set, yet we may say for them, and we may say also with confidence for our brethren at sea,—with whom neither in Scotland, nor Ireland, nor at sea, hath any artifice been used to persuade their approbations to this work,—yet we can say, that their consent and affections have flowed into us from all parts beyond our expectations. And we are confident, we may say with all confidence, that we have had their approbations and full consent, unsought indeed to the other work, so that you have their hearts and affections in this. And not only they, but we have very many papers from the Churches of God throughout the nation, wonderfully both approving what hath been done in removing obstacles and approving what we have done in this

very thing. And having said this I shall trouble you no more, but if you will be pleased that this Instrument may be read, which I have signed by the advice of the Council of Officers, we shall then leave you to your own thoughts and to the guidance of God, to order and dispose of yourselves for further meetings as you shall see cause.

[Here the Instrument was read ¹.]

I have only this to say further, that the affairs of this nation laying on our hands to be taken care of, and knowing that both the affairs at sea, the armies in Ireland and Scotland, and the providing of things for the preventing of inconveniences and the answering of all emergencies, did require that there should be no interruption, but that care ought to be taken for these things; and foreseeing likewise, that before you could digest yourselves into such a method as you may think best, both for place, time, and other circumstances, in the way you shall purpose to proceed in, would ask some time, which the Commonwealth would not bear in respect of the managing of things, I have within a week set up a Council of State, to whom the managing of affairs is committed, who, I may say, very voluntarily and freely, before they see how the issue of things would be, engaged themselves in [this] business, eight or nine of them being Members of the House that late was. I say I did exercise that power, that I thought was devolved

¹ See Notes.

upon me at that time, to the end affairs might not have any interval; and now when you are met, it will ask some time for the settling of your affairs and your way, and a day cannot be lost, but they must be in a continual Council till such time as you shall take further order, so that the whole matter of their considerations are also at your disposal, as you shall see cause. And therefore I thought it my duty to acquaint you with this much, that you may not be distracted in your way, that things have been thus ordered, that your affairs will go on till you see cause to alter this Council, they having no authority nor longer to sit than until you shall take further order.'

[Then was read the power of the Council of State, and his Excellency left the room. And the new Representative did only adjourn, and appoint the next day to begin with prayer and to spend the whole day amongst themselves¹.]

18.

The Lord General's discourse with Lord Whitelocke, urging him to accept the Swedish Embassy, Sept. 13, 1653.

Whitelocke. I was to attend your Excellency, but missed of you.

Cromwell. I knew not of it; you are always welcome to me. I hope you have considered the proposal I made to you, and are willing to serve the Commonwealth.

Wh. I have fully considered it; and with humble

¹ MS. Tanner 52, fol. 20.

thanks acknowledge the honour intended me, and am most willing to serve your Excellency and the Commonwealth; but in this particular I humbly beg your excuse. I have endeavoured to satisfy my own judgement and my nearest relations, but can do neither, nor gain a consent; and I should be very unworthy and ungrateful to go against it.

Crom. You know that no relations use to sway the balance in such matters as this. I know your lady very well, and that she is a good woman, and a religious woman; indeed I think she is: and I durst undertake, in a matter of this nature, wherein the interest of God and of his people is concerned, as they are in your undertaking of this business, I dare say my Lady will not oppose it.

Wh. Truly, Sir, I think there is no woman alive desires more the promoting of that interest; but she hopes it may be done as much, if not more, by some other person.

Crom. Really I know not in England so fit a person as you are for it.

Wh. Your Excellency cannot but know my want of breeding and experience in matters of this nature and of language.

Crom. I know your education, travel and language, and experience have fitted you for it; you know the affairs of Christendom as well as most men, and of England as well as any man, and can give as good an account of them. I think no man can serve his country more than you may herein; indeed I think

so, and therefore I make it my particular suit and earnest request to you to undertake it: and I hope you will shew a little regard to me in it, and I assure you that you shall have no cause to repent it.

Wh. My Lord, I am very ready to testify my duty to your Excellency. I acknowledge your many favours to me and myself an officer under your command, and to owe you obedience. But your Excellency will not expect it from me in that wherein I am not capable to serve you; and therefore I make it my most humble suit, to be excused from this service.

Crom. For your abilities I am satisfied; I know no man so fit for it as yourself; and if you should decline it, as I hope you will not, the Commonwealth would suffer extremely by it, your own profession might suffer likewise, and the Protestant interest would suffer by it. Indeed you cannot be excused; the hearts of all the good people in this nation are set upon it, to have you undertake this service; and if you should waive it, being thus, and at such a time when your going may be the most likely means to settle our business with the Dutch and Danes, and matter of trade,—and none, I say again, can do it better than you,—the Commonwealth would be at an extreme prejudice by your refusal. But I hope you will hearken to my request, and let me prevail with you to undertake it: neither you nor yours, I hope, shall ever have any cause to wish you had not done it.

Wh. My Lord, when a man is out of sight, he is

out of mind. Though your Excellency be just and honourable, yet, your greater affairs calling you off, those to whom matters of correspondence and supplies must be referred will perhaps forget one who is afar off, and not be so sensible of extremities in a foreign country as those who suffer under them.

Crom. I will engage to take particular care of those matters myself, and that you shall neither want supplies nor anything that is fit for you: you shall be set out with as much honour as ever any ambassador was from England. I shall hold myself particularly obliged to you if you will undertake it; and will stick as close to you as your skin is to your flesh. You shall want nothing either for your honour and equipage, or for power and trust to be reposed in you, or for correspondence and supplies when you are abroad; I promise you, my Lord, you shall not; I will make it my business to see it done. The Parliament and Council, as well as myself will take it very well and thankfully from you, to accept of this employment; and all people, especially the good people of the nation, will be much satisfied with it: and therefore, my Lord, I make it again my earnest request to you, to accept this honourable employment.

[Whitlocke then accepts 'this difficult and hazardous employment.']

Crom. My Lord, I do most heartily thank you for accepting the employment, whereby you have testified a very great respect and favour to me, and affection

to the Commonwealth, which will be very well taken by them; and I assure you, that it is so grateful to me, who upon my particular request have prevailed with you, that I shall never forget this favour, but endeavour to requite it to you and yours; really, my Lord, I shall: and I will acquaint the Council with it, that we may desire further conference with you.

19.

Speech to the Council of State, Dec. 21, 1653.

[Substance only.]

‘Dec. 21, 1653. His Highness, the Lord Protector, and the Council being thirteen in number, sat in the Council Chamber at Whitehall, where his Highness in a sweet Speech to them, pressed the Council to act for God, and the peace and good of the Nations; and particularly recommended to them, to consider and relieve the distresses of the poor and oppressed: and several things were transacted in order to a quiet and peaceable settlement of the three nations.’

20.

His Highness’ Speech to the Ministers of the French Church in London, January 5, 165 $\frac{3}{4}$.

[Substance only.]

‘That he saw we were pleased to take notice of what he had formerly said to us, wherein he had declared his heart to us, and had said it indeed,

and did say it still, that we should go on in one way ; and that it should be his joy to see we would do as we had said we should, to live in the love which is in Christ Jesus, and to honour our profession with a holy life, though for his part he knew no other ways but we did so. For whatsoever our professions were, that is it that would do it, namely the power of godliness. He did exhort us then to go on in doing so, and promised us his protection, and that he would be ready to serve us. That he did hope God would grant him the grace to keep his Ark in these nations ; and desired our prayers for him that he might improve that authority, which the Lord hath given him, for the good of God's people.'

21.

Speech to Beverning, the Dutch Commissioner, at an
Audience, Feb. 15, 1654.

[Substance only.]

'Expressing great affection and esteem for the States General, and that he doubted not of good success in the Treaty, but that he was extremely troubled to hear of all those considerations wherewith the States had clogged their instructions, which if they should come to be urged at a conference would assuredly turn all that hath been adjusted topsie-turvie by new disputes touching the sea and fishing.'

22.

His Highness' Speech to the Mayor of Guildford, and others, concerning their Declaration and Petition, at Whitehall, Tuesday, April 18, 1654.

‘Gentlemen,

I have read your paper, wherein what you there express touching my taking of the government upon me, you say what is truth; I did not desire it, nor have I, I am sure, told you so. I believe God put it into your hearts; I shall desire your prayers that I may do as you have expressed, for God is my bottom and in him only do I trust. As for your desire of a Minister, I think I have not granted the living away, and upon your making choice of such an one as your paper mentions, I shall take order that you shall have your suit.’

23.

His Highness' Speech, in Council at Whitehall, to Lord Whitelocke, on his return from the Swedish Embassy, July 6, 1654.

‘My Lord,

The Council and myself have heard the report of your journey and negotiation with much contentment and satisfaction, and both we and you have cause to bless God for your return home with safety, honour, and good success in the great trust committed

to you ; wherein this testimony is due to you, that you have discharged your trust with faithfulness, diligence, and prudence, as appears by the account you have given us, and the issue of the business. Truly, when persons to, whom God hath given so good abilities, as he hath done to you, shall put them forth as you have done, for his glory and for the good of his people, they may expect a blessing from him, as you have received in an ample measure.

An acknowledgement is also due to them from their country, who have served their country faithfully and successfully, as you have done. I can assure your Lordship it is in my heart, really it is, and I think in the hearts of all here, that your services in this employment may turn to an account of advantage to you and yours ; and it is just and honourable that it should be so.

The Lord hath shewed extraordinary mercy to you and to your company, in the great deliverances which he hath vouchsafed to you ; and especially in that eminent one which you have related to us, when you were come near your own country, and the enjoyment of the comforts of your safe return. It was indeed a great testimony of God's goodness to you all, a very signal mercy, and such a one as ought to raise up your hearts and our hearts in thankfulness to God, who hath bestowed this mercy on you ; and it is a mercy also to us as well as to you, though yours more personally, who were thus saved and delivered by the special hand of Providence.

The goodness of God to you was also seen in the support of you, under those hardships and dangers which you have undergone in this service; let it be your comfort that your service was for God, and for his people, and for your country. And now that you have, through his goodness, passed them over, and he hath given you a safe return unto your country, the remembrance of those things will be pleasant to you, and an obligation for an honourable recompense of your services performed under all those hardships and dangers.

For the treaty which you have presented to us, signed and sealed by the Queen's Commissioners, I presume it is according to what you formerly gave advice to us from Sweden. We shall take time to peruse it, and the Council have appointed a committee to look into it, together with your instructions, and such other papers and things as you have further to offer to them: and I may say it, that this treaty hath the appearance of much good, not only to England, but to the Protestant interest throughout Christendom; and I hope it will be found so, and your service thereby have its due esteem and regard, being so much for public good, and so discreetly and successfully managed by you.

My Lord, I shall detain you no longer, but to tell you that you are heartily welcome home, that we are very sensible of your good service, and shall be ready on all occasions to make a real acknowledgement thereof to you.'

24.

His Highness the Lord Protector's speech to the Parliament in the Painted Chamber, on Monday, Sept. 4, 1654.

‘Gentlemen,

You are met here on the greatest occasion that, I believe, England ever saw, having upon your shoulders the interest of three great nations, with the territories belonging to them. And truly, I believe I may say it without an hyperbole, you have upon your shoulders the interest of all the Christian people in the world; and the expectation is that I should let you know, as far as I have cognizance of it, the occasion of your assembling together at this time. It hath been very well hinted to you this day, that you come hither to settle the interests before mentioned; for it will be made of so large extension in the issue and consequence of it.

In the way and manner of my speaking to you I shall study plainness, and to speak to you what is truth and what is upon my heart, and what will in some measure reach to these concernments.

After so many changes and turnings which this nation hath laboured under, to have such a day of hope as this is, and such a door of hope opened by God to us, truly I believe, some months since would have been above all our thoughts.

I confess it would have been worthy of such a meeting as this, to have remembered that which was

the rise, and gave the first beginning to all those turnings and tossings that have been upon these nations; and to have given you a series of transactions,—not of men, but of the providence of God,—all along unto our late changes, as also the ground of our first undertaking to oppose that usurpation and tyranny that was upon us, both in civils and spirituals, and the several grounds particularly applicable to the several changes that have been.

But I have two or three reasons, which divert me from such a way of proceeding at this time. If I should have gone in that way, that which is upon my heart to have said,—which is written there, that if I would blot it out I could not,—would have spent this day; the providences and dispensations of God have been so stupendous. As David said in the like case, *Many, O Lord my God, are thy wonderful works which thou hast done; and thy thoughts which are to usward, they cannot be reckoned up in order unto thee; if I would declare and speak of them they are more than can be numbered*¹.

Truly another reason, new to me, you had to-day in the sermon. Much recapitulation of providence, much allusion to a State, and dispensation in respect of discipline and correction, of mercies and deliverances,—the only parallel of God's dealing with us that I know in the world, which was largely and wisely held forth to you this day,—Israel's bringing out of Egypt through a wilderness, by many signs and

¹ *Psalms* xl. 5.

wonders towards a place of rest: I say, towards it. And that having been so well remonstrated to you this day, is another argument why I shall not trouble you with recapitulation of those things, though they are things that I hope will never be forgotten, because written in better books than those of paper; I am persuaded written in the heart of every good man.

The third reason was this, that which I judge to be the great end of your meeting, the great end,—which was likewise remembered to you this day,—to wit, healing and settling. And the remembering transactions too particularly, perhaps instead of healing, at least in the hearts of many of you, may set the wound fresh a bleeding. I must profess this to you, whatever thoughts pass upon me, that if this day, that is this meeting, prove not healing, what shall we do? But as I said before, seeing I trust it is in the minds of you all, and much more in the mind of God, which must cause healing,—it must be first in his mind, and he being pleased to put it into yours it will be a day indeed, and such a day as generations to come will bless you for,—I say for this and the other reasons, have I forborne to make a particular remembrance and enumeration of things, and of the manner of the Lord's bringing us through so many changes and turnings, as have passed upon us.

Howbeit, I think it will be more than necessary to let you know, at the least so well as I may, in what condition this, nay these nations were, when this government was undertaken.

For order sake, it's very natural for us to consider, what our condition was in civils, in spirituals. What was our condition? Every man's hand almost was against his brother, at least his heart, little regarding anything that should cement and might have a tendency in it to cause us to grow into one. All the dispensations of God, his terrible ones,—he having met us in the way of his judgement in a ten years' civil war, a very sharp one,—his merciful dispensations, they did not, they did not work upon us but we had our humours and interests; and indeed I fear our humours were more than our interests. And certainly as it fell out, in such cases, our passions were more than our judgements.

Was not everything almost grown arbitrary? Who knew, where or how to have a right, without some obstruction or other intervening? Indeed, we were almost grown arbitrary in everything. What was the face that was upon our affairs as to the interest of the nation? to the authority of the nation? to the magistracy? to the ranks and orders of men, whereby England had been known for hundreds of years? A nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman? That is a good interest of the nation and a great one. The magistracy of the nation, was it not almost trampled under foot, under despite and contempt by men of Levelling principles? I beseech you, for the orders of men and ranks of men, did not that Levelling principle tend to the reducing all to an equality? Did it think to do so, or did it practise towards it for propriety and

interest? What was the design, but to make the tenant as liberal a fortune as the landlord? which I think if obtained, would not have lasted long. The men of that principle, after they had served their own turns, would have cried up interest and property then fast enough. This instance is instead of many, and that it may appear that this thing did extend far, is manifest, because it was a pleasing voice to all poor men, and truly not unwelcome to all bad men. To my thinking, it is a consideration, that in your endeavours after settlement you will be so well minded of, that I might have spared this; but let that pass.

Indeed in spiritual things, the case was more sad and deplorable, and that was told to you this day eminently. The prodigious blasphemies, contempt of God and Christ, denying of him, contempt of him and his ordinances and of the Scriptures. A spirit visibly acting those things foretold by *Peter* and *Jude*; yea, those things spoken of by *Paul* to *Timothy*, who,—when he would remember some things to be worse than the Antichristian state, of which he had spoken in the first to *Timothy*,—tells them what should be the lot and portion of the last times, and says, *In the last days perilous times should come, for men should be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, &c.* And when he remembers that of the Antichristian state, he tells them, That in the latter days that state shall come in, *wherein there shall be a departing from the faith, and a giving heed to seducing spirits and doc-*

trines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy, &c.; by which description he makes the state of the last times worse than that under Antichrist. And surely it may well be feared these are our times. For when men forget all rules of law and nature, and break all the bonds that fallen man hath upon him, the remainder of the image of God in his nature, which he cannot blot out and yet shall endeavour to blot out, having a form of godliness without the power, these are sad tokens of the last times. And indeed the character wherewith this spirit and principle is described in that place is so legible and visible, that he that runs may read it to be amongst us: for by such the grace of God is turned into wantonness, and Christ and the Spirit of God made the cloak of all villany and spurious apprehensions.

And although these things will not be owned publicly as to practice,—they being so abominable and odious,—yet how this principle extends itself and whence it had its rise, makes me to think of a second sort of men, who it is true, as I said, will not practise nor own these things, yet can tell the magistrate that he hath nothing to do with men thus holding, for these are matters of conscience and opinion, they are matters of religion; what hath the magistrate to do with these things? He is to look to the outward man, but not to meddle with the inward. And truly it so happens that though these things do break out visibly to all, yet the principle wherewith these things are carried on, so forbids the magistrate to

meddle with them, as it hath hitherto kept the offenders from punishment. Such considerations and pretensions of liberty, liberty of conscience and liberty of subjects, two as glorious things to be contended for as any God hath given us, yet both these also abused for the patronizing of villanies, insomuch as that it hath been an ordinary thing to say and in dispute to affirm, that it was not in the magistrate's power, he had nothing to do with it, not so much as the printing a Bible to the nation for the use of the people, lest it be imposed upon the consciences of men; for they must receive the same, traditionally and implicitly from the power of the magistrate, if thus received. The aforementioned abominations did thus swell to this height amongst us. The axe was laid to the root of the Ministry, it was Antichristian, it was Babylonish. It suffered under such a judgement, that the truth of it is, as the extremity was great on that, I wish it prove not so on this hand. The extremity was, that no man having a good testimony, having received gifts from Christ, might preach if not ordained. So now, many are on the other hand, that he who is ordained, hath a nullity or Antichristianism stamped upon his calling, so that he ought not to preach or not be heard. I wish it may not too¹ justly be said that there was severity and sharpness, yea, too much of an imposing spirit in matter of conscience, a spirit unchristian enough in any times, most unfit for these, denying liberty to those who

¹ 'too to' in text.

have earned it with their blood, who have gained civil liberty, and religious also, for those who would thus impose upon them.

We may reckon among these our spiritual evils, an evil that hath more refinedness in it, and more colour for it, and hath deceived more people of integrity than the rest have done. For few have been caught with the former mistakes, but such as have apostatized from their holy profession, such as being corrupt in their consciences, have been forsaken by God and left to such noisome opinions. But I say, there are others more refined, many honest people, whose hearts are sincere, and the evil that hath deceived them is the mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy. A thing pretending more spirituality than anything else. A notion I hope we all honour, wait, and hope for, that Jesus Christ will have a time to set up his reign in our hearts, by subduing those corruptions and lusts, and evils that are there, which reign now more in the world than I hope in due time they shall do. And when more fullness of the Spirit is poured forth to subdue iniquity and bring in everlasting righteousness, then will the approach of that glory be. The carnal divisions and contentions amongst Christians, so common, are not the symptoms of that kingdom. But for men to entitle themselves on this principle, that they are the only men to rule kingdoms, govern nations, and give laws to people; to determine of property and liberty, and everything else upon such a pretence as this is, truly, they had need give clear manifesta-

tions of God's presence with them, before wise men will receive or submit to their conclusions. Besides, certainly though many of these men have good meanings, as I hope in my soul they have, yet it will be the wisdom of all knowing and experienced Christians to do as Jude saith, when he had reckoned up those horrible things done upon pretences, and happily by some upon mistakes. *Of some, says he, have compassion, making a difference; others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire.* I fear they will give opportunity too often for this exercise, and I hope the same will be for their good.

If men do but pretend for justice and righteousness, and be of peaceable spirits and will manifest this, let them be the subjects of the magistrate's encouragement. And if the magistrate by punishing visible miscarriages save them by that discipline,—God having ordained him for that end,—I hope it will evidence love, and no hatred, to punish where there is cause. Indeed, this is that which doth most declare the danger of that spirit; for if these were but notions,—I mean the instances that I have given you both of civil considerations and spiritual,—if I say they were but notions, they were to be let alone. Notions will hurt none but them that have them. But when they come to such practices,—as to tell us, that liberty and property are not the badges of the kingdom of Christ, and tell us that instead of regulating laws, laws are to be abrogated, indeed subverted, and perhaps would bring in the Judaical law instead of our known laws

settled amongst us,—this is worthy every magistrate's consideration, especially where every stone is turned to bring confusion. I think, I say, this will be worthy of the magistrate's consideration.

Whilst these things were in the midst of us, and the nation rent and torn in spirit and principle from one end to another after this sort of manner I have now told you,—family against family, husband against wife, parents against children, and nothing in the hearts of men but overturning, overturning, overturning, a Scripture very much abused and applied to justify unpeaceable practices by all men of discontented spirits,—the common adversary in the meantime he sleeps not, and our adversaries in civil and spiritual respects did take advantage at these divisions and distractions, and did practise accordingly in the three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

We know very well that emissaries of the Jesuits never came in those swarms, as they have done since these things were set on foot. And I tell you that divers gentlemen here can bear witness with me how they have had a Consistory abroad, that rules all the affairs of things in England, from an archbishop with other dependants upon him. And they had fixed in England,—of which we are able to produce the particular Instruments,—in most of the limits of the cathedrals, an episcopal power, with archdeacons, &c., and had persons authorized to exercise and distribute those things, who pervert and deceive the people. And

all this while we were in this sad and, as I said, deplorable condition.

In the meantime all endeavours possible were used to hinder the work in Ireland, and the progress of the work of God in Scotland, by continual intelligences and correspondences both at home and abroad. From hence into Ireland, and from hence into Scotland, persons were stirred up and encouraged by these divisions and discomposure of affairs, to do all they could to encourage and foment the war in both these places.

To add yet to our misery, whilst we were in this condition, we were in war, deeply engaged in a war with the Portugal, whereby our trade ceased; and the evil consequences by that war were manifest and very considerable.

And not only this, but we had a war with Holland, consuming our treasure, occasioning a vast burden upon the people. A war that cost this nation full as much as the taxes came unto. The navy being one hundred and sixty ships, which cost this nation above one hundred thousand pounds a month, besides the contingencies which would make it six score thousand pounds a month. That very one war did engage us to so great a charge.

At the same time also we were in a war with France. The advantages that were taken at the discontents and divisions among ourselves, did also foment that war, and at least hinder us of an honourable peace, every man being confident that we could not hold out long. And surely they did not calculate

amiss, if the Lord had not been exceeding gracious to us.

I say at the same time we had a war with France. And besides the sufferings in respect of the trade of the nation, it's most evident, that the purse of the nation had not been possibly able longer to bear it, by reason of the advantages taken by other States to improve their own and spoil our manufacture of cloth and hinder the vent thereof, which is the great staple commodity of this nation. This was our condition; spoiled in our trade, and we at this vast expense, thus dissettled at home, and having these engagements abroad.

These things being thus,—as I am persuaded it is not hard to convince every person here, they were thus,—what a heap of confusions were upon these poor nations! And either things must have been left to have sunk into the miseries these premises would suppose or a remedy must be applied. A remedy hath been applied; that hath been this government; a thing I shall say very little unto. The thing is open and visible, to be seen and read by all men, and therefore let it speak for itself. Only let me say this,—because I can speak it with comfort and confidence, before a greater than you all, that is, before the Lord,—that in the intention of it, (as to the approving our hearts to God, let men judge as they please,) it is calculated for the interest of the people, for the interest of the people alone and for their good, without respect had to any other interest. And if that be not true, I shall be bold to say again, let it speak for itself.

Truly I may, I hope humbly before God and modestly before you, say somewhat on the behalf of the government. That is, not to discourse of the particular heads of it, [but] to acquaint you a little with the effects of it; and that not for ostentation sake, but to the end that I may deal at this time faithfully with you by acquainting you with the state of things and what proceedings have been upon this government, that so you may know the state of our affairs. This is the main end of my putting you to this trouble.

It hath had some things in desire, and it hath done some things actually. It hath desired to reform the laws, to reform them; and for that end, it hath called together persons, without reflection of as great ability and as great integrity as are in these nations, to consider how the laws might be made plain and short, and less changeable to the people, how to lessen the expense for the good of the nation. And those things are in preparation and Bills prepared, which in due time, I make no question, will be tendered to you. There hath been care taken to put the administration of the laws into the hands of just men, men of the most known integrity and ability. The Chancery hath been reformed, and I hope to the just satisfaction of all good men. And [as] to the things depending there, which made the burden and work of the honourable persons intrusted in those services beyond their ability, it hath referred many of them to those places where Englishmen love to have their rights tried, the Courts of Law at Westminster.

It hath endeavoured to put a stop to that heady way, touched of likewise this day, of every man making himself a Minister and a preacher. It hath endeavoured to settle a way for the approbation of men of piety and ability for the discharge of that work. And I think I may say, it hath committed that work to the trust of persons, both of the Presbyterian and Independent judgements, men of as known ability, piety, and integrity, as I believe any this nation hath. And I believe also that in the care they have taken, they have laboured to approve themselves to Christ, the nation, and their own consciences. And indeed I think if there be anything of a quarrel against them, it is,—though I am not here to justify the proceedings of any,—I say, it is that they go upon such a character as the Scripture warrants to put men into that great employment; and to approve men for it, who are men who have received gifts from Him that ascended up on high, and gave gifts for the work of the Ministry and for the edifying of the body of Christ. It hath taken care, we hope, for the expulsion of all those who may be judged anyway unfit for this work, who are scandalous, and who are the common scorn and contempt of that administration.

One thing more this government hath done. It hath been instrumental to call a free Parliament, which, blessed be God, we see here this day. I say a free Parliament; and that it may continue so, I hope is in the heart and spirit of every good man in

England, save such discontented persons as I have formerly mentioned. It is that which, as I have desired above my life, I shall desire to keep it so above my life.

I did before mention to you the plunges we were in, in respect of foreign states, by the war with Portugal, France, with the Dutch, the Dane; and the little assurance we had from any of our neighbours round about. I perhaps forgot it, but indeed it was a caution upon my mind, and I desire that it may be so understood, that if any good hath been done, it was the Lord, not we his poor instruments. I did instance in the wars which did exhaust your treasure and put you into such a condition, that you must have sunk therein, if it had continued but a few months longer. This I dare affirm, if strong probability can give me a ground.

You have now, though it be not the first in time, peace with Sweathland, an honourable peace, through the endeavours of an honourable person here present as the instrument. I say you have an honourable peace with a kingdom that not many years since was much a friend to France, and lately perhaps inclinable enough to the Spaniard. And I believe you expect not very much good from any of your Catholic neighbours, nor that they would be very willing you should have a good understanding with your Protestant friends. Yet thanks be to God that peace is concluded, and as I said before it is an honourable peace.

You have a peace with the Dane, a State that lay contiguous to that part of this Island which hath given us the most trouble. And certainly if your enemies abroad be able to annoy you, it is likely they will take their advantage where it best lies, to give you trouble there. But you have a peace there, and an honourable one; satisfaction for your merchant ships, not only to their content, but to their rejoicing. I believe you will easily know it is so. You have the Sound open, which used to be obstructed. That which was and is the strength of this nation, the shipping, will now be supplied thence. And whereas you were glad to have anything of that kind at the second hand, &c., you have all manner of commerce, and at as much freedom as the Dutch themselves, there, and at the same rates and toll. And I think I may say, by that peace they cannot raise the same upon you.

You have a peace with the Dutch; a peace unto which I shall say little, because so well known in the benefit and consequences of it. And I think it was as desirable and as acceptable to the spirit of this nation, as any one thing that lay before us. And as I believe nothing so much gratified our enemies as to see us at odds, so I persuade myself nothing is of more terror nor trouble to them, than to see us thus reconciled. As a peace with the Protestant States hath much security in it, so it hath as much of honour and of assurance to the Protestant interest abroad, without which no assistance can be given thereunto. I wish

it may be written upon our hearts to be zealous for that interest, for if ever it were like to come under a condition of suffering, it is now. In all the Emperor's patrimonial territories, the endeavour is to drive them out as fast as they can; and they are necessitated to run to Protestant States to seek their bread. And by this conjunction of interests I hope you will be in a more fit capacity to help them. And it begets some reviving of their spirits that you will help them as opportunity shall serve.

You have a peace likewise with the Crown of Portugal, which peace though it hung long in hand, yet is lately concluded. It is a peace that your merchants make us believe is of good concernment to their trade, their assurance being greater, and so their profit in trade thither, than to other places. And this hath been obtained in that treaty, which never was since the Inquisition was set up there, that our people which trade thither have liberty of conscience. Indeed peace is, as you were well told to-day, desirable with all men, as far as it may be had with conscience and honour. We are upon a treaty with France. And we may say this, that if God give us honour in the eyes of the nations about us, we have reason to bless him for it, and so to own it. And I dare say, that there is not a nation in Europe, but they are very willing to ask a good understanding with you.

I am sorry I am thus tedious, but I did judge that it was somewhat necessary to acquaint you with these things. And things being thus, I hope you will be

willing to hear a little again of the sharp, as well as the sweet. And I should not be faithful to you, nor to the interest of these nations which you and I serve, if I should not let you know all. As I said before, when this government was undertaken, we were in the midst of these divisions, and animosities, and scatterings; also thus engaged with these enemies round about us, at such a vast charge, six score thousand pounds a month for the very fleet, which was the very utmost penny of your assessments. Aye, and then all your treasure was exhausted and spent, when this government was undertaken; all accidental ways of bringing in treasure, to a very inconsiderable sum consumed. That is to say, the lands are sold, the treasures spent, rents, fee-farms, king's, queen's, princes', bishops', dean and chapters', delinquents' lands sold. These were spent when this government was undertaken. I think it is my duty to let you know so much. And that's the reason why the taxes do lie so heavy upon the people, of which we have abated thirty thousand pounds a month for the next three months.

Truly, I thought it my duty to let you know, that though God hath thus dealt with you, yet these are but entrances and doors of hope, wherein through the blessing of God you may enter into rest and peace. But you are not yet entered. You were told to-day of a people brought out of Egypt towards the land of Canaan, but, through unbelief, murmuring, repining, and other temptations and sins, wherewith God was

provoked, they were fain to come back again, and linger many years in the wilderness, before they came to the place of rest.

We are thus far through the mercy of God. We have cause to take notice of it, that we are not brought into misery; but, as I said before, a door of hope is open. And I may say this to you; if the Lord's blessing and his presence go along with the management of affairs at this meeting, you will be enabled to put the top-stone to this work, and make the nation happy. But this must be by knowing the true state of affairs, that you are not yet like the People under Circumcision, but raw; your peaces are but newly made. And it is a maxim not to be despised, though peace be made, yet it is interest that keeps peace, and I hope you will trust it no further than you see interest upon it.

And therefore I wish that you may go forward, and not backward, and that you may have the blessings of God upon your endeavours. It's one of the great ends of calling this Parliament, that this ship of the Commonwealth may be brought into a safe harbour, which I assure you it will not well be without your counsel and advice. You have great works upon your hands. You have Ireland to look unto; there is not much done towards the planting of it, though some things leading and preparing for it are. It is a great business to settle the government of that nation upon fit terms, such as will bear that work through. You have had likewise laid before you the

considerations intimating your peace with some foreign States, but yet you have not made peace with all. And if they should see we do not manage our affairs as with that wisdom which becomes us, truly we may sink under disadvantages, for all that's done. And our enemies will have their eyes open and be revived, if they see animosities amongst us ; which indeed will be their great advantage.

I do therefore persuade you to a sweet, gracious, and holy understanding of one another, and of your business, concerning which you had so good counsel this day, that indeed as it rejoiced my heart to hear it, so I hope the Lord will imprint it upon your spirits ; wherein you shall have my prayers.

Having said this, and perhaps omitted many other material things through the frailty of my memory, I shall exercise plainness and freeness with you, in telling you that I have not spoken these things as one that assumes to himself dominion over you, but as one that doth resolve to be a fellow servant with you, to the interest of these great affairs and of the people of these nations. I shall therefore trouble you no longer, but desire you to repair to your House, and to exercise your own liberty in the choice of a Speaker, that so you may lose no time in carrying on your work.'

25.

His Highness the Lord Protector's speech to the Parliament in the Painted Chamber, Tuesday, Sept. 12, 1654.

‘Gentlemen,

It is not long since I met you in this place, upon an occasion which gave me much more content and comfort than this doth. That which I have to say to you now will need no preamble to let me into my discourse, for the occasion of this meeting is plain enough. I could have wished with all my heart there had been no cause for it.

At that meeting I did acquaint you what the first rise was of this government which hath called you hither, and in the authority of which you came hither. Among other things that I told you of then, I said you were a free Parliament. And so you are, whilst you own the government and authority that called you hither. For certainly that word implied a reciprocation, or it implied nothing at all. Indeed there was a reciprocation implied and expressed, and I think your actions and carriages ought to be suitable. But I see it will be necessary for me now a little to magnify my office, which I have not been apt to do. I have been of this mind, I have been always of this mind, since first I entered upon it, that if God will not bear it up, let it sink. But if a duty be incumbent upon me to bear my testimony unto it, which in modesty I have hitherto forborne, I am in some

measure now necessitated thereunto. And therefore that will be the prologue to my discourse.

I called not myself to this place. I say again, I called not myself to this place; of that, God is witness. And I have many witnesses, who I do believe could readily lay down their lives to bear witness to the truth of that, that is to say, that I called not myself to this place. And being in it, I bear not witness to myself; but God and the people of these nations have borne testimony to it also. If my calling be from God, and my testimony from the people, God and the people shall take it from me, else I will not part with it. I should be false to the trust that God hath placed upon me, and to the interest of the people of these nations, if I should.

That I called not myself to this place, is my first assertion. That I bear not witness to myself, but have many witnesses, is my second. These are the two things I shall take the liberty to speak more fully to you of.

To make plain and clear that which I have said, I must take liberty to look back. I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity. I have been called to several employments in the nation,—to serve in Parliaments,—and (because I would not be over tedious) I did endeavour to discharge the duty of an honest man in those services, to God, and his people's interest, and of the Commonwealth; having, when time was, a competent acceptation in the hearts of men, and some

evidences thereof. I resolve not to recite the times and occasions, and opportunities that have been appointed me by God to serve him in, nor the presence and blessings of God bearing then testimony to me. I, having had some occasions to see, together with my brethren and countrymen, a happy period put to our sharp wars and contests with the then common enemy, hoped, in a private capacity, to have reaped the fruit and benefit, together with my brethren, of our hard labours and hazards, to wit, the enjoyment of peace and liberty, and the privileges of a Christian and of a man, in some equality with others, according as it should please the Lord to dispense unto me. And when, I say, God had put an end to our wars, at least brought them to a very hopeful issue, very near an end, after Worcester fight I came up to London to pay my service and duty to the Parliament that then sat. And hoping that all minds would have been disposed to answer that which seemed to be the mind of God, (*viz.*) to give peace and rest to his people, and especially to those who had bled more than others in the carrying on of the military affairs, I was much disappointed of my expectation, for the issue did not prove so; whatever may be boasted or misrepresented, it was not so, nor so. I can say in the simplicity of my soul, I love not, I love not, I declined it in my former speech, I say I love not to rake into sores or to discover nakednesses. That which I drive at is this; I say to you, I hoped to have had leave to have retired to a private life, I begged to be dismissed of my

charge, I begged it again and again, and God be judge between me and all men if I lie in this matter. That I lie not in matter of fact is known to very many, but whether I tell a lie in my heart, as labouring to represent to you that which was not upon my heart, I say, the Lord be judge. Let uncharitable men that measure others by themselves, judge as they please; as to the matter of fact, I say it is true. As to the ingenuity and integrity of my heart in that desire, I do appeal as before upon the truth of that also. But I could not obtain what my soul longed for, and the plain truth is I did afterwards apprehend that some did think, my judgement not suiting with theirs, that it could not well be. But this, I say to you, was between God and my soul, between me and that assembly.

I confess I am in some strait to say what I could say, and what is true of what then followed. I pressed the Parliament, as a member, to period themselves, once, and again, and again, and ten and twenty times over. I told them,—for I knew it better than any one man in the Parliament could know it, because of my manner of life, which was to run up and down the nation, and so might see and know the temper and spirits of all men, the best of men,—that the nation loathed their sitting; I knew it. And, so far as I could discern, when they were dissolved, there was not so much as the barking of a dog, or any general and visible repining at it. You are not a few here present that can assert this as well as myself.

And that there was high cause for their dissolving is most evident, not only in regard there was a just fear of the Parliament's perpetuating themselves, but because it was their design. And had not their heels been trod upon by importunities from abroad, even to threats, I believe there would never have been thoughts of rising or of going out of that room to the world's end. I myself was sounded, and by no mean persons tempted, and addresses were made to me to that very end, that it might have been thus perpetuated, that the vacant places might be supplied by new elections, and so continue from generation to generation.

I have declined, I have declined very much, to open these things to you; yet having proceeded thus far I must tell you, that poor men under this arbitrary power were driven like flocks of sheep by forty in a morning, to the confiscation of goods and estates, without any man being able to give a reason that two of them had deserved to forfeit a shilling. I tell you the truth, [on] my soul¹, and many persons whose faces I see in this place, were exceedingly grieved at these things, and knew not which way to help it, but by their mournings and giving their negatives when occasions served. I have given you but a taste of miscarriages; I am confident you have had opportunities to hear much more of them, for nothing is more obvious.

It's true, this will be said, that there was a remedy

¹ 'and my soul' in text.

to put an end to this perpetual Parliament endeavoured, by having a future Representative. How it was gotten, and by what importunities that was obtained, and how unwillingly yielded unto, is well known. What was this remedy? It was a seeming willingness to have successive Parliaments. What was that succession? It was, that when one Parliament had left their seat, another was to sit down immediately in the room thereof, without any caution to avoid that which was the danger, (*viz.*) perpetuating of the same Parliaments; which is a sore now that will ever be running, so long as men are ambitious and troublesome, if a due remedy be not found. So then, what was the business? It was a conversion from a Parliament that should have been and was perpetual, to a Legislative Power always sitting; and so the liberties, and interests, and lives of people not judged by any certain known laws and power, but by an arbitrary power,—which is incident and necessary to Parliaments,—by an arbitrary power, I say, to make men's estates liable to confiscation, and their persons to imprisonments, sometimes by laws made after the fact committed, often by taking the judgement both in capital and criminal things to themselves, who in former times were not known to exercise such a judicature. This I suppose was the case, and in my opinion the remedy was fitted to the disease, especially coming in the rear of a Parliament so exercising the power and authority as this had done but immediately before.

Truly I confess upon these grounds, and with the satisfaction of divers other persons, seeing nothing could be had otherwise, that Parliament was dissolved. [And] we, desiring to see if a few might have been called together for some short time, who might put the nation into some way of certain settlement, did call those gentlemen out of the several parts of the nation for that purpose. And as I have appealed to God before you already, I know and I hope I may say it,—though it be a tender thing to make appeals to God, yet in such exigencies as these I trust it will not offend his Majesty, especially to make them before persons that know God, and know what conscience is, and what it is to lie before the Lord,—I say, that as a principal end in calling that assembly was the settlement of the nation, so a chief end to myself was, that I might have opportunity to lay down the power that was in my hands. I say to you again, in the presence of that God who hath blessed and been with me in all my adversities and successes, that was as to myself my greatest end. A desire perhaps, and I am afraid sinful enough, to be quit of the power God had most providentially put into my hand, before he called for it, and before those honest ends of our fighting were attained and settled.

I say, the authority I had in my hand being so boundless as it was, I being by Act of Parliament General of all the forces in the three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland,—in which unlimited condition I did not desire to live a day,—did call that meeting for the

ends before expressed. What the event and issue of that meeting was, we may sadly remember: it hath much teaching in it, and I hope will make us all wiser for the future. But this meeting succeeding, as I have formerly said to you, and giving such a disappointment to our hopes, I shall not now make any repetition thereof. Only the effect was, that they came and brought to me a parchment, signed by very much the major part of them, expressing their resigning and redelivery of the power and authority that was committed to them back again into my hands. And I can say it in the presence of divers persons here, that do know whether I lie in that, that I did not know one tittle of that resignation, until they all came and brought it, and delivered it into my hands; of this there are also in this presence many witnesses. I received this resignation, having formerly used my endeavours and persuasions to keep them together. Observing their differences, I thought it my duty to give advices to them, that so I might prevail with them for union, but it had the effect that I told you, and I had my disappointment. When this was so, we were exceedingly to seek how to settle things for the future. My power again by this resignation was as boundless and unlimited as before; all things being subjected to arbitrariness, and a person having power over the three nations boundlessly and unlimited, and upon the matter, all government dissolved, all civil administrations at an end, as will presently be made [to] appear.

The gentlemen that undertook to frame this government did consult divers days together,—they being of known integrity and ability,—how to frame somewhat that might give us settlement, and they did so; and that I was not privy to their counsels, they know it. When they had finished their model in some measure, or made a very good preparation of it, [they]¹ became communicative. They told me that except I would undertake the government, they thought things would hardly come to a composure and settlement, but blood and confusion would break in upon us. I denied it again and again, as God and those persons know, not complimentingly as they also know and as God knows. I confess after many arguments, and after the letting of me know that I did not receive anything that put me into any higher capacity than I was in before, but that it limited me and bound my hands to act nothing to the prejudice of the nations without consent of a Council until the Parliament [met], and then limited [me] by the Parliament as the Act of Government expresth, I did accept it. I might repeat this again to you, if it were needful, but I think I need not. I was arbitrary in power, having the armies in the three nations under my command, and truly not very ill beloved by them, nor very ill beloved then by the people, by the good people. And I believe I should have been more beloved if they had known the truth, as things were before God, and in themselves, and before divers of

¹ 'it' in text.

these gentlemen whom I but now mentioned unto you. I did, at the entreaty of divers persons of honour and quality, at the entreaty of very many of the chief officers of the army then present, and at their request, I did accept of the place and title of Protector, and was in the presence of the Commissioners of the Seal, the Judges, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, the soldiery, divers gentlemen, citizens, and divers other people and persons of quality, &c., accompanied to Westminster Hall, where I took my oath to this government. This was not done in a corner; it was open and public. This government hath been exercised by a Council, with a desire to be faithful in all things, and amongst all other trusts to be faithful in calling this Parliament. And thus I have given you a very bare and lean discourse, which truly I have been necessitated unto, and contracted in because of the unexpectedness of the occasion, and because I would not quite weary you nor myself. But this is a narrative that discovers to you the series of providence and of transactions leading me into this condition wherein I now stand.

The next thing I promised you, wherein I hope I shall not be so long, though I am sure this occasion does require plainness and freedom, is that as I brought not myself into this condition, as in my own apprehension I did not; and that I did not, the things being true which I have told you, I submit it to your judgements and there shall I leave it, let God do what

he pleaseth. The other thing, I say, that I am to speak to you of, is that I have not, nor do not bear witness to myself. I am far from alluding to Him that said so; yet truth concerning a member of his, he will own though men 'do not. But I think, if I mistake not, I have a cloud of witnesses. I think so, let men be as froward as they will. I have witness within, without, and above. But I shall speak of them that are without, having fully spoken before of the witness above and the witness in my own conscience upon the other account, because that subject had more obscurity in it, and I in some sort needed appeals and I trust might lawfully make them, as well as take an oath where things were not so apt to be made evident. I shall enumerate my witnesses as well as I can. When I had consented to accept of the government there was some solemnity to be performed, and that was accompanied with some persons of considerableness in all respects, who were the persons before expressed, who accompanied me, at the time of my entering upon this government, to Westminster Hall to take my oath. *There* was an explicit consent of interested persons; and an implicit consent of many, showing their good liking and approbation thereof. And, gentlemen, I do not think that you are altogether strangers to it in your country; some did not nauseate it, very many did approve it. I had the approbation of the officers of the army in the three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland; I say, of the officers. I had that by their Remonstrances, and under signature.

There went along¹ with that explicit consent, an implicit consent of persons that had somewhat to do in the world, that had been instrumental by God to fight down the enemies of God and his people in the three nations. And truly, until my hands were bound, and I limited,—wherein I took full contentment, as many can bear me witness,—when I had in my hands so great a power and arbitrariness, the soldiery were a very considerable part of the nations, especially all government being dissolved. I say, when all government was thus dissolved, and nothing to keep things in order but the sword, and yet they,—which many histories will not parallel,—even they were desirous that things might come to a consistency, and arbitrariness might be taken away, and the government put into a person, limited and bounded as in the Act of Settlement, whom they distrusted the least, and loved not the worst. This was another evidence. I would not forget the honourable and civil entertainment, with the approbation I found in the great City of London, which the City knows whether I directly or indirectly sought. And truly I do not think it is folly to remember this, for it was very great and high, and very public, and as numerous a body of those that are known by names and titles,—the several corporations and societies of citizens in this city,—as hath been at any time seen in England, and not without some appearance of satisfaction also. I had not only this witness, but I have had from the greatest county in

¹ ‘*There was went along*’ in text.

England, and from many cities, and boroughs, and many counties, explicit approbations; not of those gathered here and there, but from the county of York, and City of York, and other counties and places, assembled in their public and general assizes; the Grand Jury in the name of the noblemen, gentlemen, yeomen, and inhabitants of that county, giving very great thanks to me for undertaking this heavy burden at such a time, and giving very great approbation and encouragement to me to go through with it. These are plain. I have them to shew, and by these in some measure it will appear, I do not bear witness to myself. This is not all. The Judges,—and truly I had almost forgotten it,—they thinking that there was a dissolution of government, met and consulted, and did declare one to another that they could not administer justice to the satisfaction of their consciences, until they had received commissions from me; and they did receive commissions from me, and by virtue of those commissions they have acted. And all the Justices of the Peace that have acted, have acted by virtue of like commissions, which was a little more than an implicit approbation. And I believe all the justice administered in the nation hath been by this authority, which also I lay before you, desiring you to think whether all these persons before mentioned must not come before you for an Act of oblivion and general pardon, who have acted under and testified to this government, if it be disowned by you.

I have two or three witnesses more, equivalent to

all these I have reckoned, if I be not mistaken, and greatly mistaken. If I should say, all you that are here are my witnesses, I should say no untruth. I know you are the same persons here that you were in country, but I will reserve to speak to this at the last, for this will be the issue of my speech.

I say, I have two or three witnesses that are more than all I have accounted and reckoned before. All the people in England are my witnesses, and many in Ireland and Scotland. All the sheriffs in England are my witnesses; and all that came in upon the process issued out by the sheriffs are my witnesses. Yea, the returns of the elections to the Clerk of the Crown, not a thing to be blown away with a breath; the returns on the behalf of the inhabitants in the counties, cities, and boroughs, all are my witnesses, of approbation to the condition and place I stand in. And I shall now make you my last witnesses, and ask you whether you came not hither by my writs, directed to the several sheriffs, and so to other officers in cities and liberties? To which the people gave obedience, having also had the Act of Government communicated to them, to which end great numbers of copies were sent down on purpose to be communicated to them; and the government also required to be distinctly read unto the people at the place of elections to avoid surprises, where also they signed the Indenture with proviso, that the persons so chosen shall not have power to alter the government as it is now settled in one single person and a Parliament.

And thus I have made good my second assertion, that I bear not witness to myself; but the good people of England, and you all, are my witnesses.

Yea surely, and this being so, though I told you in my last speech that you were a free Parliament, yet I thought it was understood that I was the Protector, and the authority that called you, and that I was in possession of the government by a good right from God and men. And I believe, if the learnedest men in this nation were called to show a [precedent]¹ so clear, so many ways approving of a government, they would not in all their search find it.

I did not in my other speech to you take upon me to justify the government in every particular; and I told you the reason of it, which was plain. It was public and had been long published, and it might be under the most serious inspection of all that pleased to peruse it. By what I have said, I have approved myself to God and my conscience in my actions and in this undertaking; and I have given cause of approving myself to every one of your consciences in the sight of God.

If it be so, why should we sport with it, with a business so serious? May not this character, this stamp, bear equal poise with any hereditary interest, which may have, and hath had, in the common law, matters of dispute and trial of learning? wherein many have exercised more wit, and spilt more blood, than I hope ever to live to see or hear of in this nation. I say, I do not know why I may not balance

¹ 'president' in text, ? providence.

this providence,—as in the sight of God,—with any hereditary interest, as being less subject to those cracks and flaws they are commonly incident unto : which titles have cost more blood in former times in this nation, than we have leisure to speak of now.

Now if this be thus,—and I am deriving a title from God and men upon such accounts as these are,—although some men be froward, yet that your judgements¹, that are persons sent from all parts of the nation under the notion of an acceptance of the government, for you to disown or not to own it ; for you, to act Parliamentary authority, especially in the disowning of it, contrary to the very fundamental things, yea, against the very root itself of this Establishment ; [for you] to sit, and not own the authority by which you sit, [it] is that, that I believe astonisheth more men than myself, and doth as dangerously disappoint, and discompose the nation, as anything [that] could have been invented by the greatest enemy to our peace and welfare, or could well have happened.

It is true, there are some things in the Establishment that are fundamental, and some things are not so, but are circumstantial. Of such, no question but I shall easily agree to vary, or leave out, as I shall be convinced by reason. Some things are fundamentals, about which I shall deal plainly with you ; they may not be parted with, but will, I trust, be delivered over to posterity, as being the fruits of our blood and [travail]².

¹ ? read, 'for you in your judgements.'

² 'travel' in text.

The government by a single person and a Parliament is a fundamental; it is the *esse*, it is constitutive. And for the person, though I may seem to plead for myself, yet I do not, no, nor can any reasonable man say it. 'But if the things throughout this speech be true, I plead for this nation, and all honest men therein who have borne their testimony as aforesaid, and not for myself. And if things should do otherwise than well, which I would not fear, and the common enemy and discontented persons take advantage at these distractions, the issue will be put up before God. Let him own it or disown it, as he please. In every government there must be somewhat fundamental, somewhat like a *Magna Charta*, that should be standing and be unalterable. Where there is a stipulation on one part, and that fully accepted, as appears by what hath been said, surely a return ought to be: else what does that stipulation signify? If I have upon the terms aforesaid undertaken this great trust and exercised it, and by it called you, surely it ought to be owned. That Parliaments should not make themselves perpetual, is a fundamental. Of what assurance is a law to prevent so great an evil, if it lie in one or the same legislator to unlaw it again? Is this like to be lasting? It will be like a rope of sand; it will give no security, for the same men may unbuild what they have built.

Is not Liberty of Conscience in religion a fundamental? So long as there is liberty of conscience for

the supreme magistrate, to exercise his conscience in erecting what form of church-government he is satisfied he should set up, why should he not give it to others? Liberty of conscience is a natural right; and he that would have it ought to give it, having liberty to settle what he likes for the public. Indeed, that hath been one of the vanities of our contests. Every sect saith, Oh! Give me liberty. But give him it, and to his power he will not yield it to anybody else. Where is our ingenuity? Truly, that's a thing ought to be very reciprocal. The magistrate hath his supremacy, and he may settle religion according to his conscience. And I may say it to you,—I can say it,—all the money of this nation would not have tempted men to fight, upon such an account as they have engaged, if they had not had hopes of liberty, better than they had from Episcopacy, or than would have been afforded them from a Scottish Presbytery; or an English either, if it had made such steps or been as sharp and rigid as it threatened when it was first set up. This I say is a fundamental. It ought to be so: it is for us, and the generations to come. And if there be an absoluteness in the imposer, without fitting allowances and exceptions from the rule, we shall have our people driven into wildernesses, as they were when those poor and afflicted people, that forsook their estates and inheritances here, where they lived plentifully and comfortably, for the enjoyment of their liberty, and were necessitated to go into a vast howling wilderness in New England, where

they have for liberty sake stript themselves of all their comfort and the full enjoyment they had, embracing rather loss of friends and want, than to be so ensnared and in bondage.

Another, which I had forgotten, is the Militia; that's judged a fundamental, if anything be so. That it should be well and equally placed, is very necessary. For put the absolute power of the Militia into one without a check, what doth it? I pray you, what doth your check put upon your perpetual Parliaments, if it be wholly stript of this?

It is equally placed; and desires were to have it so, (*viz.*) in one Person, and the Parliament,—sitting, the Parliament. What signifies a provision against perpetuating of Parliaments, if this be solely in them? Whether, without a check, the Parliament have not liberty to alter the frame of government to Aristocracy, to Democracy, to Anarchy, to anything, if this be fully in them, yea, into all confusion, and that without remedy? And if this one thing be placed in one; that one, be it Parliament, be it supreme governor, they or he hath power to make what they please of all the rest.

Therefore, if you would have a balance at all, and that some fundamentals must stand which may be worthy to be delivered over to posterity, truly I think it is not unreasonably urged, that the Militia should be disposed, as it is laid down in the [Act of] Government, and that it should be so equally placed, that one person, neither in Parliament, nor out of Parliament,

should have the power of ordering it. The Council are the trustees of the Commonwealth, in all intervals of Parliaments; who have as absolute a negative upon the supreme officer in the said intervals, as the Parliament hath whilst it is sitting. It cannot be made use of, a man cannot be raised nor a penny charged upon the people, nothing can be done without consent of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliament, without consent of the Council it is not to be exercised.

Give me leave to say, that there is very little power, none but what is co-ordinate, in the supreme officer, and yet enough in him that hath the chief government. In that particular he is bound in strictness by the Parliament, out of Parliament by the Council, that do as absolutely bind him, as the Parliament, when Parliament is sitting.

For that of money, I told you some things are circumstantial. To have two hundred thousand pounds, to defray Civil Officers, to pay the Judges, and other Officers, defraying the charges of the Council, in sending their Embassies, in keeping Intelligence, and doing that that's necessary, and for supporting the Governor-in-Chief,—all this, is by the Instrument supposed and intended, but it is not of the *esse* so much, and so limited. As [to] so many soldiers, thirty thousand,—twenty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse,—if the spirits of men be composed, five thousand Horse and ten thousand Foot may serve. These things are between the Chief

Officer and the Parliament, to be moderated as occasion shall offer.

So there are many other circumstantial things, which are not like the laws of the Medes and Persians. But the things which shall be necessary to hand over to posterity, these should be unalterable, else every succeeding Parliament will be disputing to change and alter the government, and we shall be as often brought into confusion as we have Parliaments, and so make our remedy our disease. The Lord's providence, (appearing evil¹, appearing good,) and better judgement, will give occasion for the ordering of things for the best interest of the people; and those things are the matter of consideration between you and me.

I have indeed almost tired myself. That, that I have further to say is this, I would it had not been needful for me to have called you hither to have expostulated these things with you, and in such a manner as this is. But necessity hath no law. Feigned necessities, imaginary necessities, are the greatest cozenage that men can put upon the providence of God, and make-pretences to break known rules by. But it is [deceitful]² and as carnal and as stupid, to think that [they]³ are no necessities, that are manifest necessities, because necessities may be abused or feigned. And truly I should be so, if I should think so; and I hope none of you think so.

I say, that the wilful throwings away of this

¹ 'evils' in text.

² 'as legall' in text.

³ 'there' in text.

government, (such as it is, so owned by God, so approved by men, so testified to in the fundamentals of it, as is before mentioned,) and that in relation to the good of these nations and posterity ;—I can sooner be willing to be rolled into my grave, and buried with infamy, than I can give my consent unto.

You have been called hither together to save a nation ;—nations. You had the best people indeed in the Christian world in your trust, when you came hither. You had affairs and these nations delivered over to you in peace and quietness. You were, and we all were, put into an uninterrupted possession, nobody making title to us. Through the blessing of God our enemies were hopeless and scattered. We had peace at home, peace almost with all neighbours round about : [we were] fit to take advantages where God did administer them.

To have our peace and interest, that had those hopes the other day, thus shaken and under such a confusion, and we rendered hereby almost the scorn and contempt of those strangers, that are amongst us to negotiate their masters' affairs ; to give them opportunity to see our nakedness, as they do, a people that have been unhinged this twelve years' day, and unhinged still ;—as if scattering, division, and confusion should come upon us, as if it were desired, which are the greatest plagues God ordinarily lays upon nations for sin,—I would be loth to say they are matters of our delight, but if not, why not the matter of our care, so wisely as we ought by

uttermost endeavours to avoid? Nay, when by such actions as these are, these poor nations shall be thrown into heaps of confusion, through blood, and ruin, and trouble,—upon the saddest account that ever was, if breaking should come upon us,—and all because we would not settle when we might, when God put it into our hands! Your affairs now almost settled everywhere, and to have all recoil upon us, and we ourselves shaken in our affections, loosened from all known and public interests, as I have mentioned to you! Who shall answer for these things to God? Who can answer for these things to God, or to men; to the people who sent you hither, who looked for refreshment from you, who looked for nothing but peace, and quietness, and rest and settlement?

And when we shall come to give an account to them, we shall be able to say, Oh! we have quarrelled for, and we contested for the Liberty of England. Wherein, forsooth? For the liberty of the people? I appeal to the Lord, that the desires and endeavours, —and the things themselves will speak for themselves,—that the liberty of England, the liberty of the people, the avoiding of tyrannous impositions, either upon men as men, or Christians as Christians, is made so safe by this Act of Settlement, that it will speak sufficiently for itself.

And when it shall appear what hath been said and done, and what our transactions have been—for God can discover, and no *Privilege* will hinder the Lord

from discovering, no Privilege or condition of men can hide from the Lord: he can and will make all manifest, if he see it for his glory,—and when these shall by the providence of God be manifested, and the people shall come and say, ‘Gentlemen, what condition are we in? We hoped for light, and behold darkness, obscure darkness! We hoped for rest after ten years’ Civil wars, we are plunged into deep confusion again. Aye! we know these consequences will come upon us, if God Almighty shall not find out some way to prevent them.

I had this thought within myself, that it had not been dishonest, nor dishonourable, nor against true liberty, no not of Parliaments,—when a Parliament was so chosen in pursuance of, in conformity to, and with such an approbation and consent to the government, so that he that runs might read by what authority you came hither,—that an owning of your call, and of the authority bringing you hither, might have been required before your entrance into the House.

But this was declined, and hath not been done, because I am persuaded scarce any man could reasonably doubt you came with contrary minds. And I have reason to believe, the people that sent you least doubted thereof at all. And therefore I must deal plainly with you. What I forbore upon a just confidence at first, you necessitate me unto now, that, seeing the authority calling you is so little valued and so much slighted,—till some assurance be

given and made known, that the fundamental interest of the government be settled and approved, according to the proviso contained in the Return, and such a consent testified, as will make it appear that the same is accepted,—I have caused a stop to be put to your entrance into the Parliament House.

I am sorry, I am sorry, and I could be sorry to the death, that there is cause for this. But there is cause. And if things be not satisfied, that are reasonably demanded, I for my part shall do that that becomes me, seeking my counsel from God.

There is therefore somewhat to be offered to you, that I hope will, (being understood with the qualifications that I have told you of, reforming circumstantialia and agreeing in the substance and fundamentals, which is the government settled as it is expressed in the Indenture, not to be altered,) [by] the making of your minds known in that, by giving your assent and subscription to it, [be]¹ that, that will let you in to act those things as a Parliament which are for the good of the people. And this thing showed to you, and signed as aforesaid, doth determine the controversy and may give a happy progress and issue to this Parliament. The place where you may come thus and sign, as many as God shall make free thereunto, is in this Lobby without the Parliament door.

The [Act of] Government doth declare, that you have a legislative power without a negative from me. As the government doth express, you may make any

¹ 'is' in text.

laws, and if I give not my consent within twenty days to the passing of your laws, they are *ipso facto* laws, whether I consent or no, if not contrary to the government. You have an absolute legislative power in all things that can possibly concern the good and interest of the public. And I think you may make these nations happy by this settlement. And I for my part shall be willing to be bound more than I am, in anything that I may be convinced of may be for the good of the people, in preservation of the cause and interest so long contended for.'

26.

Speech to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London, at Whitehall, Friday, Sept. 15, 1654.

[Substance only.]

'About Friday, Sept. 15, he sent for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, to Whitehall, and made a speech to them, chiefly to give an account of his late proceedings with the Parliament, and to maintain a good understanding with the City. He said he had concluded a peace with four great nations, by which the doors were set open for a free trade throughout the world, and that two nations, France and Spain, had begged a peace of him. He spoke something concerning religion, which is diversely reported. Some say, he spoke favourably of the Presbyterians and Independents, others that he charged the Lord Mayor to look well to the Anabaptists,

while he himself would look to the Presbyterians. Perhaps he used the former expressions with reference to the Presbyterian doctrine, which is in the most parts tolerable, and the latter with reference to the Presbyterian government which is horrid tyranny. He added, that no man should hereafter be permitted to preach under pretence of being gifted, before he had been tried and was allowed; and lastly charged his hearers to maintain the peace of the City. His speech was near two hours long; he suffered none, not even a servant, to be present beside the citizens, and was bareheaded all the time; he was applauded with very great hums at the end, and at every pause.'

27.

His Highness' speech to the Parliament in the Painted Chamber, at their dissolution, upon Monday, Jan. 22, 165 $\frac{1}{2}$.

'Gentlemen,

I perceive you are here as the *House of Parliament*, by your Speaker whom I see here, and by your faces, which are, in a great measure, known to me.

When I first met you in this room, it was, to my apprehension, the hopefulest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to considerations of this world: for I did look at—as wrapt up in you, together with myself—the hopes and the happiness of though not of the greatest, yet a very great and the best people in the world.

And truly and unfeignedly I thought so ; as a people that have the highest and clearest profession among them of the greatest glory, to wit religion ; as a people that have been, like other nations, sometimes up and sometimes down, in our honour in the world, but yet never so low, but we might measure with other nations ; and [as] a people that have had a stamp upon them from God ; God having, as it were, summed all our former glory and honour, in the things that are of glory to nations, in an *epitome*, within these ten or twelve years past, so that we know one another at home, and are well known abroad. And, if I be not very much mistaken, we were arrived,—as I, and truly as I believe many others did think,—at a very safe port, where we might sit down and contemplate the dispensations of God, and our mercies, and might know our mercies not to have been like to those of the ancients, who did make out their peace and prosperity, as they thought by their own endeavours, who could not say, as we, that all ours were let down to us from God himself, whose appearances and providences amongst us are not to be outmatched by any story.

Truly this was our condition, and I know nothing else we had to do, save as Israel was commanded in that most excellent Psalm of David, Psalm lxxviii. vv. 4, 5, 6, 7. *The things which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us, we will not hide them from their children, shewing to the generation to come the praise of the Lord, and his*

strength, and his wonderful works which he hath done; for he established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers that they should make them known to their children, that the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born, who should arise and declare them to their children, that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God but keep his commandments. This, I thought, had been a song and a work worthy of England, whereunto you might have happily invited them, had you had hearts unto it. You had this opportunity fairly delivered unto you; and if a history shall be written of these times and of transactions, it will be said, it will not be denied, but that these things that I have spoken are true. This *talent* was put into your hands: and I recur to that which I said at the first, I came with very great joy and contentment, and comfort, the first time I met you in this place. But we and these nations are, for the present, under some disappointment. If I had purposed to have played the orator, which I never did affect, nor do, nor I hope shall, I doubt not but upon easy suppositions, which I am persuaded every one among you will grant, [I could shew] we did meet upon such hopes as these.

I met you a second time here, and I confess at that meeting I had much abatement of my hopes, though not a total frustration. I confess that that which damped my hopes so soon was somewhat that did

look like a parricide. It is obvious enough unto you, that the management of affairs did savour of a not-owning, too too much savour, I say, of a not-owning the authority that called you hither. But God left us not without an expedient that gave a second possibility—shall I say a possibility?—it seemed to me a probability, of recovering out of that dissatisfied condition we were all then in, towards some mutuality of satisfaction, and therefore by that Recognition¹, suiting with the Indenture that returned you hither. To which, afterwards, also was added your own Declaration, conformable to, and in acceptance of, that expedient, whereby you had, though with a little check, another opportunity renewed unto you to have made this nation as happy, as it could have been if everything had smoothly run on from that first hour of your meeting. And indeed,—you will give me liberty of my thoughts and hopes,—I did think, as I have formerly found in that way that I have been engaged as a soldier, that some affronts put upon us, some disasters at the first, have made way for great and happy successes. And I did not at all despond, but the stop put upon you would in like manner have made way for a blessing from God, that,—that interruption being, as I thought, necessary, to divert you from destructive and violent proceedings, to give time for better deliberations,—[thereby]² leaving the

¹ *Assent to the Form of Government, Sept. 12, 1654, by which alone entrance could be obtained to the House.*

² ‘whereby’ in text.

government¹ as you found it, you might have proceeded to have made those good and wholesome laws, which the people expected from you, and might have answered the grievances, and settled those other things proper to you as a Parliament, and for which you would have had thanks from all that entrusted you.

What hath happened since that time, I have not taken public notice of, as declining to intrench upon Parliament privileges. For sure I am, you will all bear me witness, that from your entering into the House upon the Recognition to this very day, you have had no manner of interruption or hindrance of mine in proceeding to that blessed issue [which] the heart of a good man could propose to himself, to this very day. You see you have me very much locked up as to what you have transacted among yourselves from that time to this, but something I shall take liberty to speak of to you. As I may not take notice what you have been doing, so I think I have a very great liberty to tell you, that I do not know what you have been doing. I do not know whether you have been alive or dead. I have not once heard from you in all this time, I have not, and that you all know; if that be a fault that I have not, surely it hath not been mine. If I have had any melancholy thoughts, and have sat down by them, why might it not have been very lawful to me, to think that I was a person judged unconcerned in all these businesses? I can assure you, I have not reckoned myself, nor did I reckon

¹ See note to Speech 24.

myself, unconcerned in you ; and so long as any just patience could support my expectation, I would have waited to the uttermost to have received from you the issues of your consultations and resolutions. I have been careful of your safety, and the safety of those that you represented, to whom I reckon myself a servant. But what messages have I disturbed you withal ? What injury or indignity hath been done or offered, either to your persons or to any privileges of Parliament, since you sat ? I looked at myself, as strictly obliged by my oath, since your recognizing the government in the authority by which you were called hither, and [sought] ¹ to give you all possible security, and to keep you from any unparliamentary interruption. Think you I could not say more upon this subject, if I listed to expatiate thereupon ? But because my actions plead for me, I shall say no more of this.

I say, I have been caring for you, your quiet sitting ; caring for your privileges, as I said before, that they might not be interrupted ; have been seeking of God, from the great God, a blessing upon you, and a blessing upon these nations ; I have been consulting, if possibly I might in anything promote, in my place, the real good of this Parliament, of the hopefulness of which I have said so much unto you. And I did think it to be my business rather to see the utmost issue, and what God would produce by you, than unseasonably to intermeddle with you. But, as I said before, I have been caring for you, and for the peace and quiet

¹ 'sate' in text.

of the nations, indeed I have, and that I shall a little presently manifest unto you.

And it leadeth me to let you know somewhat, that I fear, I fear will be through some interpretation a little too justly put upon you, whilst you have been employed as you have been, and,—in all that time expressed in the [Act of] Government, in that government, I say, in that government,—[have] brought forth nothing that you yourselves say can be taken notice of, without infringement of your privileges. I will tell you somewhat, that if it be not news to you, I wish you had taken very serious consideration of; if it be news, I wish I had acquainted you with it sooner. And yet if any man will ask me why I did it not, the reason is given already, because I did make it my business to give you no interruption.

There be some trees that will not grow under the shadow of other trees. There be some that choose,—a man may say so by way of allusion,—to thrive under the shadow of other trees. I will tell you what hath thriven; I will not say what you have cherished under your shadow, that were too hard. Instead of the peace and settlement, instead of mercy and truth being brought together, righteousness and peace kissing each other, by reconciling the honest people of these nations, and settling the woful distempers that are amongst us,—which had been glorious things, and worthy of Christians to have proposed,—weeds and nettles, briars and thorns, have thriven under your shadow. Dissettlement and division, discontent and

dissatisfaction, together with real dangers to the whole, has been more multiplied within these five months of your sitting, than in some years before.

Foundations have also been laid for the future renewing the troubles of these nations by all the enemies of it abroad and at home. Let not these words seem too sharp, for they are true, as any mathematical demonstrations are or can be. I say, the enemies of the peace of these nations abroad and at home, the discontented humours throughout these nations, which I think no man will grudge to call by that name or to make to allude to briers and thorns, they have nourished themselves under your shadow.

And that I may be clearly understood, they have taken the opportunities from *your sitting*, from the hopes they had, which with easy conjecture they might take up and conclude, that there would be no settlement; and therefore they have framed their designs, preparing for the execution of them accordingly. Now whether,—which appertains not to me to judge of on their behalf,—they had any occasion ministered for this, and from whence they had it, I list not to make any scrutiny or search, but I will say this, I think they had [it]¹ not from me, I am sure they had not; from whence they had it is not my business now to discourse, but that they had, is obvious to every man's sense. What preparations they have made to execute [their designs], in such a season as they thought fit to take their opportunity

¹ 'them' in text.

from, that I know, not as men know things by conjecture, but by certain demonstrable knowledge that they have been, for some time past, furnishing themselves with arms, nothing doubting but that they should have a day for it; and verily believing, that whatsoever their former disappointments were, they should have more done for them by and from our own divisions, than they were able to do for themselves. I do not, and I desire to be understood so, that in all I have to say of this subject you will take it, that I have no reservation in my mind to mingle things of guess and suspicion with things of fact, but the things I am telling are of fact, things of evident demonstration.

These weeds, briers, and thorns, they have been preparing, and have brought their designs to some maturity by the advantages given to them, as afore-said, from your sitting and proceedings. But by the waking eye, that watched over that cause that God will bless, they have been, and yet are disappointed. And having mentioned that cause, I say that slighted cause, let me speak a few words in behalf thereof, though it may seem too long a digression. Whosoever despiseth it, and will say it is "*non causa pro causa*," the all-searching eye, before mentioned, will find out that man, and will judge him as one that regardeth not the works of God, nor the operations of his hands, for which God hath threatened that he will cast men down and not build them up. That [man] because he can dispute and tell us, he knew not where the cause [was] begun nor where it is, but modelleth it

according to his own intellect, and submits not to the appearances of God in the world, therefore he lifts up his heel against God, and mocketh at *all* his providences, laughing at the observations, made up, not without reason and the Scriptures, but by the quickening and teaching *Spirit* which gives life to the other, calling such observations, enthusiasms. Such men, I say, no wonder if they stumble and fall backward, and be broken and snared, and taken by the things of which they are so maliciously and wilfully ignorant. The Scriptures say, the [Lord]¹ has a voice, and he will make himself known, and he will make himself known by the judgements which he executeth². And do we not think he will, and does, by the providences of mercy and kindness which he hath for his people, and for their just liberties, whom he loves as the apple of his eye? Doth he not by them manifest himself? And is he not thereby also seen, *giving kingdoms for them, giving men for them, and people for their lives*, as it is in the forty-third of Isaiah? Is not this as fair a lecture and as clear speaking, as anything our dark reason, left to the letter of the Scriptures, can collect from them? By this voice has God spoken very loud on the behalf of his people, by judging their enemies in the late war, and restoring them a liberty to worship with the freedom of their consciences, and a freedom in their estates and persons when they do so. And thus we have found the cause of God by the works of God,

¹ 'Rod' in text.² Ps. ix. 16.

which are the testimony of God, upon which rock whosoever splits shall suffer shipwreck.

But it is our glory, and it is mine, if I have any in the world, concerning the interest of those that have an interest in a better world, it is my glory that I know a cause, which yet we have not lost, but do hope we shall take a little pleasure rather to lose our lives than lose. But you will excuse this long digression.

I say unto you, whilst you have been in the midst of these transactions, that party, that Cavalier party, —I could wish some of them had thrust in here to have heard what I say,—the Cavalier party have been designing and preparing to put this nation in blood again, with a witness. But because I am confident there are none of that sort here, therefore I shall say the less to that; only, this I must tell you, they have been making great preparations of arms, and I do believe [it] will be made evident to you, that they have raked out many thousands of arms, even all that this city could afford for divers months last past.

But it will be said, May we not arm ourselves *for the defence of our houses*, will anybody find fault for that? No! For that the reason of their doing so hath been as explicit, and under as clear proof, as the fact of [their] doing so; for which I hope by the justice of the land, some will, in the face of the nation, answer it with their lives, and then the business will be pretty well out of doubt.

Banks of money have been framing for these and other such like uses. Letters have been issued, with

Privy Seals, to as great persons as most are in the nation, for the advance of moneys, which have been discovered to us by the persons themselves. Commissions for regiments of horse and foot, and command of castles, have likewise [been] given from Charles Stuart since your sitting. And what the general insolences of that party have been, the honest people have been sensible of and can well testify.

It hath not been only thus. But as in a quinsy or pleurisy where the humour fixeth in one part, give it scope, it will gather to that place to the hazarding of the whole, and it is natural to do so, till it destroy nature in that person on whomsoever this befalls,—so likewise, will those diseases take accidental causes [for]¹ aggravation of their distemper. And this was that which I did assert, that they have taken accidental causes for the growing and increasing of those distempers, as much as would have been in the natural body, if timely remedy were not applied. And indeed things were come to that pass, in respect of which I shall give you a particular account, that no mortal physician, if the *great physician* had not stepped in, could have cured the distemper. Shall I lay this upon your account or my own? I am sure I can lay it upon God's account, that if he had not stepped in, the disease had been mortal and destructive. And what is all this? Truly I must needs say, a company of men still,—like briars and thorns, and worse, if worse can be, of another sort than those

¹ 'of' in text.

before mentioned to you,—have been, and yet are, endeavouring to put us into blood and into confusion, more desperate and dangerous confusion than England ever yet saw. And I must say, as when Gideon commanded his son to fall upon Zeba and Zalmunna and slay them, they thought it more noble to die by the hand of a man than of a stripling¹, which shows there is some contentment in the hand by which a man falls; so, is it some satisfaction if a Commonwealth must perish, that it perish by men, and not by the hands of persons differing little from beasts; that if it must needs suffer, it should rather suffer from rich men than from poor men, who as Solomon says, *when they oppress they leave nothing behind them, but are as a sweeping rain*².

Now, such as these also are grown up under your shadow. But it will be asked, what have they done? I hope, though they pretend Commonwealth's interest, they have had no encouragement from you, but that, as before, [they have] rather taken it, than that you have administered any cause unto them for so doing, from delays, from hopes that this Parliament would not settle, from pamphlets mentioning strange votes and resolves of yours, which I hope did abuse you. Thus you see, whatever the grounds were, these have been the effects. And thus I have laid these things before you, and you and others will be easily able to judge how far you are concerned.

And what have these men done? They have also

¹ Judges viii. 20, 21.

² Prov. xxviii. 3.

laboured to pervert where they could, and as they could, the honest meaning people of the nation, they have laboured to engage some in the army; and I doubt, that not only they, but some others also very well known to you, have helped in this work of debauching and dividing the army; they have, they have. I would be loth to say, who, where, and how, much more loth to say, they were any of your own number, but I can say endeavours have been [made] to put the army into a distemper, and to feed that which is the worst humour in the army; which though it was not a mastering humour, yet these took their advantage from delay of the settlement, and the practices before mentioned, and stopping the pay of the army to run us into free quarter and to bring us into the inconveniences most to be feared and avoided.

What if I am able to make it appear in fact, that some amongst you have run into the City of London to persuade to petitions and addresses to you, for reversing your own votes that you have passed? Whether these practices were in favour of your liberties, or tended to beget hopes of peace and settlement from you? And whether debauching the army in England, as is before expressed, and starving it, and putting it upon free quarter, and occasioning and necessitating the greatest part thereof in Scotland to march into England, leaving the remainder thereof to have their throats cut there and kindling by the rest a fire in our own bosoms, were for the advantage of affairs here, let the world judge?

This I tell you also, that the correspondency held with the interest of the Cavaliers, [was] by that party of men, called Levellers, and who call themselves Commonwealth's, men. Whose declarations were framed to that purpose¹, and ready to be published at the time of their common rising, whereof we are possessed, and for which we have the confession of themselves now in custody; who confess also they built their hopes upon the assurance they had of the Parliament's not agreeing [to] a settlement.

Whether these humours have not nourished themselves under your boughs, is the subject of my present discourse, and I think I say not amiss, if I affirm it to be so. And I must say it again, that that which hath been their advantage thus to raise disturbance, hath been by the loss of those golden opportunities, that God hath put into your hands for settlement.

Judge you, whether these things were thus or no, when you first sat down. I am sure things were not thus. There was a very great peace and sedateness throughout these nations, and great expectations of a happy settlement, which I remembered to you at the beginning of my speech, and hoped that you would have entered upon your business as you found it. There was a government in the possession of the people, I say a government in the possession of the people, for many months,—it hath now been exercised near fifteen months,—and if it were needful that

¹ i. e. of debauching and dividing the Army and throwing it into a distemper.

I should tell you, how it came into their possession and how willingly they received it, how all law and justice were distributed from it in every respect, as to life, liberty, and estate, how it was owned by God, as being the dispensation of his providence, after twelve years' war, and sealed and witnessed unto by the people, I should but repeat what I said in my last speech made unto you in this place, and therefore I forbear.

When you were entered upon this government, [instead of] ravelling into it,—you know I took no notice what you were doing,—if you had gone upon that foot of account, to have made such good and wholesome provisions for the good of the people of these nations, for the settling of such matters in things of religion as would have upheld and given countenance to a Godly Ministry, and yet would have given a just liberty to Godly men of different judgements, [though] men of the same faith with them that you call the Orthodox Ministry in England,—as it is well known the Independents are, and many under the form of Baptism, who are sound in the Faith, only may perhaps be different in judgement in some lesser matters, yet [are]¹ true Christians, both looking at salvation only by faith in the blood of Christ, men professing the fear of God, *having recourse to the name of God as to a strong tower*²,—I say, you might have had opportunity to have settled peace and quietness

¹ 'as' in original.

² 'the name of the Lord is a strong tower : the righteous runneth unto it, and is exalted.' Proverbs xviii. 10.

amongst all professing Godliness, and might have been instrumental, if not to have healed the breaches, yet to have kept the Godly of all judgements from running one upon another, and by keeping them from being overrun by a common enemy, [to have] rendered them and these nations both secure, happy, and well satisfied.

Are these things done? Or anything towards them? Is there not yet upon the spirits of men a strange itch? Nothing will satisfy them, unless they can put their finger upon their brethren's consciences, to pinch them there. To do this was no part of the contest we had with the common adversary; for religion was not the thing at the first contested for, but God brought it to that issue at last, and gave it to us by way of redundancy, and at last it proved that which was most dear to us. And wherein consisted this, more than in obtaining that liberty from the tyranny of the Bishops to all species of Protestants, to worship God according to their own light and consciences? For want of which, many of our brethren forsook their native countries to seek their bread from strangers, and to live in howling wildernesses; and for which also many that remained here were imprisoned, and otherwise abused and made the scorn of the nation.

Those that were sound in the Faith, how proper was it for them to labour for liberty, for a just liberty, that men should not be trampled upon for their consciences? Had not they laboured but lately under the weight of persecutions, and was it fit for them to

sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy than for those who were oppressed by the Bishops, to become the greatest oppressors themselves so soon as their yoke was removed? I could wish that they who call for liberty now also, had not too much of that spirit, if the power were in their hands.

As for profane persons, blasphemers, such as preach sedition, the contentious railers, evil speakers who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners, persons of loose conversations, punishment from the Civil Magistrate ought to meet with them. Because, if these pretend conscience, yet walking disorderly, and not according but contrary to the Gospel and even to natural light, they are judged of all, and their sins being open, makes them subjects of the magistrate's sword, who ought not to bear it in vain. The discipline of the Army was such, that a man would not be suffered to remain there, of whom we could take notice he was guilty of such practices as these. And therefore how happy would England have been, and you, and I, if the Lord had led you on to have settled upon such good accounts as these are, and to have discountenanced such practices as the other, and left men in disputable things free to their own consciences; which was well provided for by the [Act of] Government, and liberty left to provide against what was apparently evil.

Judge you, whether the contesting for things that were provided for by this government hath been

profitable expense of time for the good of these nations? By means whereof, you may see you have wholly elapsed your time, and done just nothing. I will say this to you in behalf of the Long Parliament, that had such an expedient as this government been proposed to them, and that could they¹ have seen the cause of God thus provided for, and had by debates been enlightened in the grounds by which the difficulties might have been cleared, and [had] the reason of the whole enforced,—the circumstances of time and persons, with the temper and disposition of the people, and affairs both abroad and at home when it was undertaken, well weighed,—as well as they were thought to love their seats, I think in my conscience that they would have proceeded in another manner than you have done, and not have exposed things to those difficulties and hazards they now are at, nor given occasion to leave the people so dissettled as now they are, who I dare say, in the soberest and most judicious part of them, did expect not a questioning, but a doing of things in pursuance of the government. And if I be not misinformed, very many of you came up with this satisfaction, having had time enough to weigh and consider the same. And when I say, “such an expedient as this government is,”—wherein I dare assert there is a just liberty to the people of God, and the just rights of the people in these nations provided for,—I can put the issue thereof upon the clearest reason, whatsoever any go about to suggest to the

¹ ‘they could’ in text.

contrary. But, this not being the time and place of such an averment, for satisfaction sake herein enough is said in a book, entituled, *A True State of the Case of the Commonwealth*, &c., published in January, 1653. And for myself, I desire not to keep it an hour longer than I may preserve England in its just rights, and may protect the people of God in such a just liberty of their consciences, as I have already mentioned. And therefore if this Parliament have judged things to be otherwise than as I have stated them, it had been huge friendliness,—between persons that had such a reciprocation, and in so great concernments to the public,—for them to have convinced me in what particulars therein my error lay; of which I never yet had a word from you. But if, instead thereof, your time has been spent in setting up somewhat else upon another bottom than this stands, that looks as if a laying grounds of a quarrel had rather been designed, than to give the people settlement. If it be thus, it's well your labours have not arrived to any maturity at all.

The government called you hither, the constitution whereof being so limited, a single person and a Parliament. And this was thought most agreeable to the general sense of the nation, having had experience enough by trial of other conclusions, judging this most likely to avoid the extremes of monarchy on the one hand, and democracy on the other, and yet not to found *dominium in gratia*. And if so, then certainly to make it more than a notion, it was

requisite that it should be as it is in the [Act of] Government, which puts it upon a true and equal balance. It has been already submitted to the judicious honest people of this nation, whether the balance be not equal; and what their judgement is, is visible by submission to it, by acting upon it, by restraining their trustees from meddling with it; and it neither asks nor needs any better ratification. But when trustees in Parliament shall by experience find any evil in any parts of the government,—referred by the [Act of] Government itself to the consideration of the Protector and Parliament, of which time itself will be the best discoverer,—how can it be reasonably imagined that a person, or persons, coming in by election, and standing under such obligations, and so limited, and so necessitated by oath to govern for the people's good, and to make their love, under God, the best underpropping and his best interest to him[self],—how can it, I say, be imagined that the present or succeeding Protectors will refuse to agree to alter any such thing in the government that may be found to be for the good of the people, or to recede from anything which he might be convinced casts the balance too much to the single person? And although for the present, the keeping up and having in his power the Militia seems the most hard, yet if it should be yielded up at such a time as this, when there is as much need to keep this cause,—which is most evident, at this time impugned by all the enemies of it,—as there was to get

it, what would become of all? Or if it should not be equally placed in him and the Parliament, but yielded up at any time? It determines his power, either for doing the good he ought, or hindering Parliaments from perpetuating themselves, or from imposing what religions they please on the consciences of men, or what government they please upon the nation, thereby subjecting us to dissettlement in every Parliament, and to the desperate consequences thereof. And if the nation shall happen to fall into a blessed peace, how easily and certainly will their charge be taken off, and their forces be disbanded; and then where will the danger be to have the Militia thus [in]stated? What if I should say, if there should be a disproportion or disequality as to the power, it is on the other hand? And if this be so, wherein have you had cause to quarrel? What demonstrations have you held forth to settle me to your opinion? Would you had made me so happy as to let me have known your grounds. I have made a free and ingenuous confession of faith to you, and I could have wished it had been in your hearts to have agreed that some friendly and cordial debates might have been towards mutual conviction. Was there none amongst you to move such a thing? No fitness to listen to it? no desire of a right understanding? If it be not folly in me to listen to town-talk, such things have been proposed, and rejected with stiffness and severity once and again. Was it not likely to have been more advantageous to the good of the nation? I will say this to you for myself,

—and to that I have my conscience as a thousand witnesses, and I have my comfort and contentment in it, and I have the witness of divers here, that I think truly scorn to own me in a lie,—that I would not have been averse to any alteration, of the good of which I might have been convinced, although I could not have agreed to the taking it off the foundation on which it stands, viz. the acceptation and consent of the people.

I will not presage what you have been about or doing all this time, [nor]¹ do I love to make conjectures, but I must tell you this, that as I undertook this government in the simplicity of my heart, and as before God and to do the part of an honest man, and to be true to the interest, which in my conscience is dear to many of you,—though it is not always understood what God in his wisdom may hide from us as to peace and settlement,—so I can say, that no particular interest, either of myself, estate, honour, or family are or have been prevalent with me to this undertaking. For if you had upon the old government offered to me this one, this one thing,—I speak as thus advised, and before God as having been to this day of this opinion, and this hath been my constant judgement, well known to many that hear me speak,—if this one thing had been inserted, that one thing, that this government should have been and placed in my family hereditary, I would have rejected it, and I could have done no other according to my present conscience and light. I will tell you my

¹ 'or' in original.

reason, though I cannot tell what God will do with me, nor you, nor the nation, for throwing away precious opportunities committed to us. This hath been my principle, and I liked it, when this government came first to be proposed to me, that it put us off that hereditary way. Well looking that as God had declared what government he had delivered over to the Jews, and placed it upon such persons as had been instrumental for the conduct and deliverance of his people; and considering that promise in Isaiah, that God *would give rulers as at the first, and judges as at the beginning*¹, I did not know but that God might begin, and though at present with a most unworthy person, yet as to the future it might be after this manner, and I thought this might usher it in. I am speaking as to my judgement against making it hereditary, to have men chosen for their love to God, and to truth and justice, and not to have it hereditary. For as it is in Ecclesiastes, *who knoweth whether he may beget a fool or wise*²? Honest or not, whatever they be, [they] must come in upon that account, because the government is made a patrimony. And this I do perhaps declare with too much earnestness, as being my own concernment, and know not what place it may have in your hearts and [those] of the good people in the nation; but however it be, I have comfort in this my truth and plainness. I have thus told you my thoughts, which

¹ Isaiah i. 26, '*And I will restore thy judges as at the first and thy counsellors as at the beginning.*'

² See Eccles. ii. 19.

truly I have declared to you in the fear of God, as knowing he will not be mocked, and in the strength of God, as knowing and rejoicing that I am kept in my speaking ; especially, when I do not form or frame things without the compass of integrity and honesty, [knowing] that my own conscience gives me not the lie to what I say : and then, in what I say I can rejoice.

Now to speak a word or two to you of that I must profess in the name of the same Lord, and wish that there had been no cause that I should have thus spoken to you ; and though I have told you that I came with joy the first time, with some regret the second, [to tell you] that now I speak with most regret of all. I look upon you as having among you many persons, that I could lay down my life individually for. I could, through the grace of God, desire to lay down my life for you, so far am I from having an unkind or un-Christian heart towards you in your particular capacities. I have that indeed as a work most incumbent upon me. I consulted what might be my duty in such a day as this, casting up all considerations. I must confess, as I told you, that I did think occasionally this nation hath suffered extremely in the respects mentioned, as also in the disappointment of their expectations of that justice that was due to them by your sitting thus long ; and what have you brought forth ? I did not, nor cannot apprehend what [the reason of] it is ; I would be loth to call it a fate, that were too paganish a word, but there is something in it, that we have not our expectations.

I did think also for myself, that I am like to meet with difficulties, and that this nation will not, as it is fit it should not, be deluded with pretexts of necessity in that great business of raising of money. And were it not that I can make some dilemmas upon which to resolve some things of my conscience, judgement, and actions, I should sink at the very prospect of my encounters. Some of them are general, some are more special. Supposing this cause, or this business, must be carried on, either it is of God, or of man. If it be of man, I would I had never touched it with a finger ; if I had not had a hope fixed in me that this cause, and this business, is of God, I would many years ago have run from it. If it be of God, he will bear it up. If it be of man, it will tumble, as everything that hath been of man, since the world began, hath done. And what are all our histories, and other traditions of actions in former times, but God manifesting himself that he hath shaken and tumbled down, and trampled upon everything that he hath not planted? And as this is, so [will] the all-wise God deal with it. If this be of human structure and invention, and it be an old plotting and contrivance to bring things to this issue, and that they are not the births of providence, then they will tumble. But if the Lord take pleasure in England, and if he will do us good, he is able to bear us up ; let the difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall in his strength be able to encounter with them. And I bless God I have been inured to difficulties, and I never found God failing when I trusted in him ;

I can laugh and sing in my heart when I speak of these things to you, or elsewhere. And though some may think it is an hard thing without Parliamentary authority to raise money upon this nation, yet I have another argument to the good people of this nation, if they would be safe, and have no better principle. Whether they prefer the having of their will, though it be their destruction, rather than comply with things of necessity? That will excuse me; but I should wrong my native country to suppose this. For I look at the people of these nations, as the blessing of the Lord; and they are a people blessed by God. They have been so, and they will be so, by reason of that immortal seed, which hath been and is among them. Those regenerated ones in the land, of several judgments, who are all the flock of Christ, and lambs of Christ, though perhaps under many unruly passions and troubles of spirit, whereby they give disquiet to themselves and others, yet they are not so to God, as to us. He is a God of other patience, and he will own the least of truth in the hearts of his people. And the people being the blessing of God they will not be so angry, but they will prefer their safety to their passions, and their real security to forms, when necessity calls for supplies. Had they not well been acquainted with this principle, they had never seen this day of gospel-liberty.

But if any man shall object, It is an easy thing to talk of necessities, when men create necessities. Would not the Lord Protector make himself great, and his

family great? Doth not he make these necessities, and then he will come upon the people with this argument of necessity? This were something hard indeed; but I have not yet known what it is to make necessities, whatsoever the judgements or thoughts of men are. And I say this, not only to this assembly, but to the world, that that man liveth not, that can come to me, and charge me that I have in these great revolutions made necessities; I challenge even all that fear God. And as God hath said, *my glory I will not give unto another*¹, let men take heed and be twice advised, how they call his revolutions, the things of God, and his working of things from one period to another, how I say, they call them necessities of men's creation. For by so doing they do vilify and lessen the works of God, and rob him of his glory, which he hath said he will not give unto another, nor suffer to be taken from him. We know what God did to Herod, when he was applauded, and did not acknowledge God. And God knoweth what he will do with men, when they shall call his revolutions human designs,—and so detract from his glory,—when they have not been forecast, but sudden providences in things: whereby carnal and worldly men are enraged, and under and at which many I fear, some good, have murmured and repined, because disappointed of their mistaken fancies. But still they have been the wise disposings of the Almighty, though [his] instruments have had their passions and frail-

¹ Isa. xlii. 8.

ties. And I think it is an honour to God to acknowledge the necessities to have been of God's imposing, when truly they have been so, as indeed they have, when we take our sin in our actings to ourselves; and much more safe, than [to] judge things so contingent, as if there were not a God that ruled the earth. We know the Lord hath poured this nation from vessel to vessel, till he poured it into your lap, when you first came together. I am confident it came so into your hands, [and] was not judged by you to be from counterfeited or feigned necessity, but by divine providence and dispensation. And this I speak with more earnestness, because I speak for God and not for men. I would have any man to come and tell of the transactions that have been, and of those periods of time wherein God hath made these revolutions, and find where they can fix a feigned necessity. I could recite particulars, if either my strength would serve me to speak, or yours to hear. If that you would revolve the great hand of God in his great dispensations, you would find that there is scarce a man that fell off at any period of time, when God had any work to do, that can give God or his work, at this day, a good word. It was, say some, the cunning of the Lord Protector,—I take it to myself,—it was the craft of such a man, and his plot that brought it about. And as they say in other countries, There are five or six cunning men in England that have skill: they do all these things. Oh, what blasphemy is this! Because, [these are] men that are

without God in the world, and walk not with him, and know not what it is to pray, or believe, and to receive returns from God, and to be spoken unto by the Spirit of God, who speaks without a written Word sometimes, yet according to it : God hath spoken heretofore in divers manners, let him speak as he pleaseth. Hath he not given us liberty ? Nay, is it not our duty to go to the Law and to the Testimonies, and there we shall find that there have been impressions in extraordinary cases, as well without the written Word as with it, and therefore there is no difference in the thing thus asserted from truths generally received, except we will exclude the Spirit, without whose concurrence all other teachings are ineffectual. He doth speak to the hearts and consciences of men, and leadeth them to his Law and Testimonies, and there he speaks to them, and so gives them double teachings, according to that of Job, *God speaketh once, yea twice* ; and that of David, *God hath spoken once, yea twice have I heard this*¹. Those men that live upon their *numpsimus* and *sumpsimus*, their masses and service-books, their dead and carnal worship, no marvel if they be strangers to God, and the works of God, and to spiritual dispensations. And because they say and believe thus, must we do so too ? We in this land have been otherwise instructed, even by the Word and Works, and Spirit of God. To say that men bring forth these things, when God doth them, judge you if God will bear this.

¹ Job xxxiii. 14, and Ps. lxii. 11.

I wish that every sober heart, though he hath had temptations upon him of deserting this cause of God, yet may take heed how he provokes, and falls into the hands of the living God by such blasphemies as these. According to the 10th of the Hebrews, *If we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more sacrifice for sin,*—it was spoken to the Jews, that having professed Christ apostatized from him,—what then? Nothing but *a fearful falling into the hands of the living God.* They that shall attribute to this or that person the contrivances and production of those mighty things God hath wrought in the midst of us, and [say] that they have not been the revolutions of Christ himself, upon whose shoulders the government is laid, they speak against God, and they fall under his hand without a Mediator. That is, if we deny the Spirit of Jesus Christ the glory of all his¹ works in the world, by which he rules kingdoms and doth administer, and is the [God]² of his strength, we provoke the Mediator. And he may say, I will leave you to God, I will not intercede for you, let him tear you to pieces; I will leave thee to fall into God's hands; thou deniest me my sovereignty and power committed to me, I will not intercede nor mediate for thee; thou fallest into the hands of the living God. Therefore whatsoever you may judge men for, and say, this man is cunning, and politic, and subtle, take heed, again I say, how you judge of his revolutions,

¹ *i. e.* God, the Father.

² 'rod' in text.

as the products of men's inventions. I may be thought to press too much upon this theme, but I pray God it may stick upon your hearts and mine. The worldly minded man knows nothing of this, but is a stranger to it, and because of this, his atheism and murmurings at instruments, yea repining at God himself, and no wonder, considering the Lord hath done such things amongst us as have not been known in the world these thousand years;—and yet notwithstanding is not owned by us.

There is another necessity which you have put upon us, and we have not sought; I appeal to God, angels, and men, if I shall raise money according to the Article of the [Act of] Government, which had power to call you hither, and did. And instead of seasonable providing for the Army, you have laboured to overthrow the government, and the Army is now upon free quarter; and you would never so much as let me hear a tittle from you concerning it. Where is the fault? Has it not been as if you had had a purpose to put this extremity upon us and the nation? I hope this was not in your minds; I am not willing to judge so, but this is the state unto which we are reduced. By the designs of some in the Army, who are now in custody, it was designed to get as many of them as [they] could,—through discontent for want of money, the Army being in a barren country, near thirty weeks behind in pay, and upon other specious pretences,—to march for England out of Scotland, and in discontent to seize their general there, a faithful

and honest man, that so another might head the Army. And all this opportunity taken from your delays. Whether will this be a thing of feigned necessity? What could it signify, but that the army are in discontent already, and we will make them live upon stones, and we will make them cast off their governors and discipline? What can be said to this? I list not, to unsaddle myself, and put the fault upon others' backs. Whether it hath been for the good of England, whilst men have been talking of this thing or the other, and pretending liberty, and a many good words? Whether it hath been as it should have been? I am confident you cannot think it has; the nation will not think so. And if the worst should be made of things, I know not what the Cornish-men, or the Lincolnshire-men may think, or other counties, but I believe they will all think they are not safe. A temporary suspension of caring for the greatest liberties and privileges,—if it were so, which is denied,—would not have been of that damage, that the not providing against free quarter hath run the nation upon. And if it be my liberty to walk abroad in the fields, or to take a journey, yet it is not my wisdom to do so when my house is on fire.

I have troubled you with a long speech, and I believe it may not have the same resentment with all, that it hath with some. But because that is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God, and conclude with that that I think myself bound,—in my duty to God and the people of these nations, to their safety and good

in every respect, I think it my duty,—to tell you, that it is not for the profit of these nations, nor fit for the common and public good, for you to continue here any longer, and therefore, I do declare unto you, That I do dissolve this Parliament.'

28.

Speech to the Members of the late Parliament for Scotland.

[Substance only.]

'Westminster, February 8, 165 $\frac{4}{5}$.—The Members that served in the late Parliament for Scotland came to take their leaves of his Highness, and laying down the heavy grievance of that nation by reason of a very numerous Army, his Highness told them, that the reason thereof was because the Ministry did preach up the interest of Charles Stuart, and did much inveigh against the present authority, so that there was a necessity of their continuance, but if they could propose any expedient, with a salvo to the security of that nation, he was willing to answer their desires therein; whereupon the said Members are now considering of an expedient.'

29.

Speech to the Judges, at Whitehall, July 13, 1655.

[Substance only.]

'Most of the Judges are already set forward in their Circuits, and at their taking leave at Whitehall

his Highness made a very learned speech, wherein he did most emphatically declare the sum of their duties, and how they ought to deport themselves in their places.'

30.

To the Ambassador of Sweden, Saturday,
July 28, 1655.

'My Lord Ambassador,

I have great reason to acknowledge with thankfulness the respects and good affection of the King, your master, towards this Commonwealth, and towards myself in particular. Whereof I shall always retain a very grateful memory, and shall be ready upon all occasions to manifest the high sense and value I have of his Majesty's friendship and alliance.

My Lord, you are very welcome into England, and during your abode here you shall find all due regard and respect to be given to your person, and to the business about which you come.

I am very willing to enter into a nearer and more strict alliance and friendship with the King of Sweden, as that which in my judgement will tend much to the honour and commodity of both nations, and to the general advantage of the Protestant interest.

I shall nominate some persons to meet and treat with your Lordship, upon such particulars as you shall communicate to them.'

31.

Speech at a Conference as to the admission of Jews into
England, Dec. 12, 1655.

[Substance only.]

‘That since there was a Promise that they should be converted, means ought to be used to that end; and the most likely way was, the preaching of the Gospel in truth and sincerity, as it was then in England, devoid of all Popish Idolatry, which had rendered the Christian Religion odious to them.’

32.

Speech to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common
Council of the City of London, at Whitehall, Wednesday,
March 5, 165 $\frac{5}{8}$.

[Substance only.]

‘His Highness on Wednesday last was near two hours in delivering a speech at Whitehall to the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common Council of London, wherein he told them, That since fair means would not indulge, he should enforce the Royal party to a peaceable deportment. And seeing they were the cause, by their late endeavour, of raising the Militia troops to preserve the peace of the nation, it was thought but reasonable that their estate should be only charged therewith; that so they might be in the nature of a standing Militia, and yet not [go] to warfare at their own charge; being at all times to be

drawn forth upon occasion. That the soldiers, as well as the officers, were so many inhabitants of each Association under their respective Major-Generals, and would thereby fitly serve to be so many watchmen or spies to give notice of, or apprehend, such as were of dissolute lives and conversation, who lived like gentlemen and yet had not visible way for the same, being cheaters and the like, who were more fit to be sent beyond the seas than to remain here. That God Almighty hath given us many blessings and deliverances, and now seemingly brought us into a probability of enjoying peace, which called upon us to make some returns thereof, by endeavouring that after all our expense of blood and treasure, the same might reap some fruits thereof; and this way the Lord hath owned, by making more effectual than was expected and by receiving a good acceptance with those who of late stood at some distance with us. So that the sole end of this way of procedure was the security of the peace of the nation, the suppressing of vice and encouragement of virtue, the very end of Magistracy. That there was a remissness in some of the Justices of Peace, by many of whom company keeping and was commanded; but now, that noble men, gentlemen, and all varieties and qualities, might give security for their peaceable and civil disposition, or go to prison. That we had indeed many good laws, yet that we have lived rather under the name and notion of Law, than under the thing; so that it is resolved to regulate the same, God assisting, oppose

who will. That now the Major-Generals had gone through all the counties of England and Wales; and wherever the Major-Generals were present, in accord these loose and vagrant persons did fly from there to other counties, the Major-Generals' occasions not permitting them to be in accord at one time. And for that this City was a place that gave shelter to many such idle loose persons, who had and have their recourse thereto, the same practice is intended to be set on foot in the City by their Major-General Skippon, the Lord-Lieutenant of the Tower, and others commissioned with him. And therefore his Highness thought fit to acquaint the Lord Mayor, and those gentlemen present, with the same, to the end no misunderstanding may be had thereof; for that thereby the good government of the City is intended, and not at all to supersede them or at least to diminish any of their rights, privileges or liberties. Which was all his Highness had to say to them, and so dismissed them.'

33.

Speech to Officers of the Army at Whitehall,
Sept. 6, 1656.

[Substance only.]

'This day most of the Officers that were appointed to wait on his Highness met at Whitehall, where his Highness hinted to us the cause of our now meeting; which was, that Charles Stuart had 8,000 men in

Flanders ready to ship, and had writ to his friends here not to stir till he was upon the coast; and that Colonel Sexby had promised the King of Spain to betray a considerable garrison in England to him, and that many here would join with him; as also how the Fifth-Monarchy men and others did endeavour to roll us into blood; with other things which I shall give your Lordship an account of,' &c.

34.

His Highness' speech at the opening of Parliament,
Wednesday, Sept. 17, 1656.

'Gentlemen,

When I came hither, I did think that a duty was incumbent upon me a little to pity myself, because, this being a very extraordinary occasion, I thought I had very many things to say to you; but truly now, seeing you in such a condition as you are, I think I must turn off in this, as I hope I shall in everything else, and reflect upon [you] as certainly not being able long to bear that condition and heat that you are in.

Rhetoricians, to whom I do not pretend, neither to them nor to the things they use to speak, [speak] words. Truly our business is to speak things; the dispensations of God that are upon us do require it. And that subject upon which we shall make our discourse is somewhat of very great interest and concernment both to the glory of God and with reference to his

interest in the world,—I mean his peculiar, his most peculiar interest. And that will not teach any of us to exclude his general interest, which is the concernment of the living people within these three nations, with all the dependencies thereupon. I told you I should speak to things, things that concern these interests, the glory of God and his peculiar interest in the world, which is more extensive, I say, more extensive than the people of all these three nations, with the appurtenances or the countries and places belonging unto them.

The first thing therefore that I shall speak to, is that that is the first lesson of Nature, which is being and preservation,—as to that of being, I do think I do not ill style it the first consideration that Nature teacheth the sons of Adam,—and then I hope we shall enter into a field large enough when we come to consider that [of] well-being; and if that first be not well laid, I think the rest will hardly follow. Now in order to this, to the being and subsistence of these nations with all the dependencies, the conservation of that is either with a respect to be had to them that seek to undo it, and so make it not to be, and then with a very natural consideration to what will make it to be, will keep its being and subsistence.

[Seeing] that that which plainly seeks the destruction of the being of this nation, is out of doubt the endeavour and design of all the common enemies of it, I think truly it will not be hard to find out

who those enemies are, nor what hath made them so. I think they are all the wicked men of the world, whether abroad or at home, that are the enemies to the very being of this nation, and that upon a common account, from that very enmity that is in them [against]¹ whatsoever should serve the glory of God and the interest of his people; which they see to be more eminently, yea most eminently patronized and professed in this nation,—we will speak it not with vanity,—above all the nations in the world. This is the common ground of the common enmity had against the prosperity of these nations, against the very being of them. But we shall not I think take up much time in contemplating who these enemies are, what they are in the general notion, but to labour to specificate our enemies, to know who they be and are, that seek the very destruction and being of these nations. And truly I would not have laid this foundation but to this end, that I might very particularly communicate with you, for which end you are called hither at this time, that I might particularly communicate with you of the many dangers that this nation stands in, in respect of enemies both abroad and at home; and also to advise with you about the remedies and means to obviate these dangers, which, say I, and I shall leave it to you whether you will join with me or no, strike at the very being and interest of these nations, [these] nations in the general, [and] especially

¹ 'yet' in text.

at the interest of the people of God in these nations. And therefore that I may be particular, I shall shortly represent to you the estate of your affairs in that respect ; in respect of the enemies you are engaged with, and how you came to be engaged with those enemies, and how they came to be as heartily, I believe, engaged against you.

Why, truly, your great enemy is the Spaniard. He is. He is a natural enemy, he is naturally so. He is naturally so, throughout, as I said before, throughout all your enemies, through that enmity that is in him against all that is of God that is in you, or that which may be in you, contrary to that that his blindness and darkness, led on by superstition and the implicitness of his faith in submitting to the See of Rome, acts him unto. With this King and State, I say, you are at this present in hostility. We put you into this hostility. You will give us leave to tell you how, as we are ready to excuse most of our actions, aye and to justify them as well as to¹ excuse them. Upon the grounds of necessity [we put you into this hostility], the grounds of necessity being above all considerations of justification, of instituted Law. And if this or any other State would go about, as I know they never will, to make laws against what may happen, against Providence, I think it is obvious to any man that they will make Law against all events ; events and issues of things being from God alone, to whom all issues belong.

¹ 'to as' in text.

This State is your enemy, and is your enemy, as I told you, naturally, by that antipathy that is in him providentially, and that in divers respects. You could not, you could not have an honest nor an honourable peace with him. It was sought by the Long Parliament, it was not attained; it could not be attained with honour and honesty. I say, it could not be attained with honour and honesty. And truly when I say that he is naturally throughout an enemy, an enmity is put into him by God. *I will put an enmity between thy seed and her seed*¹, which goes but for little among statesmen, but it is more considerable [than]² all things. And he that considers not the providential and accidental enmity, I think he is not well acquainted with Scripture and the things of God. And he is not only so upon that account but he is providentially so, God having in his wisdom disposed it to be so when we made a breach with him, when we made attempt upon him: I shall tell you when.

No sooner did this nation reform that which is called unworthily the Reformed Religion, after the death of Queen Mary, by the Queen Elizabeth of famous memory,—we need not be ashamed to say so,—but his designs were by all unworthy unnatural means to destroy that person, and to seek the ruin and destruction of these kingdoms. And for me to instance in particular upon that account were to trouble you at a very unseasonable time. There is

¹ Gen. iii. 15.

² 'them' in text.

a Declaration extant, which very fully hath in it the original of the Spaniard's venting him upon this nation and a series of it from those very grounds to this present day. But it was so, partly upon that general account which all have agreed; the French, all the Protestants in Germany, have agreed that his design was the empire of the whole Christian world, if not more. And upon that ground he looks at this nation as his greatest obstacle. And what his attempts were to that end, I refer you to that Declaration and to the observations of men who read history. It would not be ill to remember the several assassinations designed upon that lady, that great Queen; the attempts upon Ireland, their invading it; the designs of the same nature upon this nation, public designs, private designs, all manner of designs to accomplish this great and general end. And truly, it is true King James made a peace; but whether this nation, or any interest of all the Protestant Christians, suffered not more by that peace, than ever by his hostility, I refer it to your consideration. So that a State that you can neither have peace with, nor reason from, is that State with whom you have enmity at this time and against whom you are engaged. And give me leave to say this unto you, because it is truth and most men know it, that the Long Parliament did endeavour but could not obtain satisfaction all the time they sat. For their messenger was murdered, and when they asked satisfaction for the blood of your poor people unjustly shed in the West Indies,

and for the wrongs done elsewhere, when they asked liberty of conscience for your people that traded thither, satisfaction would not be given but denied. I say they denied satisfaction to be given, either for your messenger that was murdered, or the blood that was shed, or the damages that were done in the West Indies. No satisfaction at all, nor any reason given why there should not be liberty given to your people that traded thither, whose trade was very considerable there and drew many of your people thither. And [this] begot an apprehension in us; whether in you or no, let God judge between you and himself, I prejudge not, but all of us know that the people that [went]¹ thither, to manage the trade there, were imprisoned there. We desired such a liberty as they might keep Bibles in their pockets, to exercise their liberty of religion to themselves and not to be under restraint. But there is not liberty of conscience to be had, neither satisfaction for injuries, nor for blood; but when these things were desired, the Ambassador told us it was to ask his master's two eyes. To ask both his eyes to ask these things of him!

Now if this be so, why truly then there is some little foundation laid to justify the war that was had with the Spaniard. And not only so, but the plain truth of it [is], make any peace with any State that is Popish and subjected to the determination of Rome and [the] Pope himself, you are bound and they are loose. It is in the pleasure of the Pope at any time

¹ 'were' in text.

to tell you, that though the man may be murdered, yet he has got into the sanctuary. And it is as true, and it hath been found by common and constant experience, that peace is but to be kept so long as the Pope saith Amen to it. And truly if I should tell you that that will determine it without any further question at all, we have not to do with any Popish State except France, and [in] that [country] it is true that they do not think themselves under such a tie to the Pope, but think themselves at liberty to perform honesties with nations with whom they are agreed, and [protest]¹ against the obligation of such a thing as that is. They are able to give us an explicit answer to anything reasonably demanded of them! And there is no State we can speak of save this, which is under the lash of the Pope to be determined [upon anything], but will break it or keep it when they please upon these grounds. In the time when Philip the Second was married to Queen Mary, and since that time, through that power and instigation, twenty thousand Protestants were massacred in Ireland.

We thought, being denied just things, we thought it our duty to get that by the sword which we could not otherwise do. And this hath been the spirit of Englishmen; and if so, certain it is and ought to be the spirits of men that have higher spirits. With this State you are engaged, and it is a great and powerful State, though I may say that also with all other States, with all other Christian States, you are

¹ 'protest' in text.

at peace. And [this in spite of] all those engagements that were upon you before the government were undertaken, which was war with France, Denmark, and upon the matter war with Spain. I could instance how it was said, we will have a war in the Indies, though we fight them not at home. I say we are at peace with all other nations, and have only a war with Spain. I shall say somewhat to you, that will let you see our clearness to that, by-and-by.

Having thus engaged with Spain, it is that party that brings all your enemies before you; it doth. For it is so now that Spain hath espoused that interest that you have all along hitherto been conflicting with, Charles Stuart's interest. And I would but meet that [gentleman]¹ upon a fair discourse that is willing that that person should come back again, but I dare not believe any in this room is. I say it doth not detract at all from your cause, nor yet from your ability to make resistance, that God by his providence hath so disposed that the King of Spain hath espoused that person. I say no person but would be wonderfully well satisfied that it is not for the [advantage]² of that person, and [the] choosing out, as was said to-day, [of] a captain to lead us back again into Egypt, if there be such a place,—I mean metaphorically and allegorically so,—that is to say, returning to all those things that we think we have been fighting against and destroying of all that good, (we have had some hints to-day,) we have

¹ 'General' in text. ² 'aversion' in text.

attained unto. I am sure my speech will signify very little if such grounds go not for good. And I must say this to you, that there is not a man in England that is apt to comply with Papists and Cavaliers, but to them it is the greatest parable and absurdest discourse. And therefore we could wish they were all where Charles Stuart is, all that declare that they are of that spirit. I do with all my heart, aye, and I would help them to a boat to carry them over that are of that mind. Yea, and if you shall think it a duty to drive them over by arms, I will help in that also. You are engaged with this enemy; and this last said hath a little vehemency in it, but it is worth your consideration.

Though I seem to be all this while upon the justice of this business, yet my desire is to let you see the dangers that this nation stands in, and all the honest interest. Yea, all the interests of the Protestants in Germany, Denmark, Helvetia, the Cantons, and all the interests in Christendom [are] the same as yours. If you succeed well and act well, and be convinced what is God's interest and but prosecute it, you will find that you act for a very great many [that are]¹ God's own. Therefore I say that as your danger is from the common enemy abroad, who is the head of the Papal interest, the head of that anti-Christian interest, that is so described in Scripture, so fore-spoken of,—and so fully is that charactered name given him by the Apostle in his Epistle to the

¹ 'that's' in text.

Thessalonians, and also expressed throughout the Revelations, which are sure plain things, except you will deny the truth of the Scriptures, you must needs see that that State is so described in Scripture to be Papal and anti-Christian,—I say with this enemy and upon this account you have the quarrel with the Spaniard. And truly he hath an interest in your bowels, he hath so. The Papists in England they have been accounted, ever since I was born, Spaniolised. There is not a man amongst us can hold up a face against it. They never regarded France, they never regarded any other Popish State. Where any [such] interest was, Spain was their patron. It was so in England, Ireland, and Scotland; no man can doubt of it. Therefore I must needs say, this interest at home is a great piece of your danger. It is, and it is evidently so, and will be more so, upon that account that I told you. He hath espoused Charles Stuart, with whom he is fully at agreement; for whom he hath raised seven or eight thousand men, that are now quartered at Bruges; to whom Don John of Austria hath promised as soon as the [campaign]¹ is ended, which [it] is conceived will be in about five or six weeks, he shall have four or five thousand; and the Duke of [Neuburg]², who is a Popish State, hath promised good assistance according to his power; and other Popish States the like. In this condition you are with that State, and in this

¹ 'campania' in text.

² Blank in MS. here. Editor of Burton's Diary inserts 'Newburgh' from letter in Thurloe's State Papers, V. 427.

condition through unavoidable necessity, because your enemy was naturally so, and is become so providentially.

This being so, that as there is a complication of these interests, so there is a complication here. Can we think that Papists and Cavaliers shake not hands in England? They will not tell you so, nor in being cozened by unworthy compliances of individuals in this nation, or any general compliance, [admit] it [to be] unworthy, un-Christian, un-English-like. Therefore I say it doth serve to let you see, and for that end I tell it you, to let you see your danger and the rise of it. It is not only thus, that we stand in this condition towards Spain, towards all that interest that would make void and frustrate all that are doing for you, [it is not only] in respect of the Popish interest, Papists and Cavaliers, but it is also [in other respects], that is to say your danger is so great, if you be sensible of it, from persons that pretend other things; yea, who though perhaps they do not all suit in their hearts with the said interest, yet all men know, and must know, that discontented spirits end somewhere. They must expect back and support somewhere; and truly those discontentments are another piece of your danger. They must end at the interest of the Cavalier at the long run. That must be their support. I could have reckoned this upon other [grounds], but I shall give you an account of things as they appear to be, for that I desire to clear them to you not discursively but to let you see

matter of fact and to let you see how the state of your affairs stands.

It is true, there was not long since an endeavour to make an insurrection in England. It was so for some time before it brake out. It was so before the last Parliament sat, the last ! It was so from the time not only of the undertaking of this government, but the spirit and principle of it did work in the [time of the] Long Parliament. From that time till to this, hath there been nothing but enterprising and designing against you, and it is no strange nor new thing to tell you, because it is true and certain, that the Papists, the Priests and Jesuits, have a great influence upon the Cavalier party. They and the Cavaliers' party [have a like influence] upon discontented spirits of the nation, who are not all so apt to see where dangers lie, nor to what the management of affairs tends. It is these to whom they do foment all things that tend to disservice, to propagate discontentments upon the minds of men. And if we would instance in particulars those that have manifested this, we could tell you that Priests and Jesuits have insinuated themselves into the society of men, pretending the same things that they have pretended, and whose ends have been that, out of doubt, which I told you. We had that insurrection. It was intended first to the assassination of my person ; which I would not remember as anything at all considerable to myself or to you, for they must cut throats beyond human consideration before they had been able to effect their design. You

know that very well. It is no fable, for persons were arraigned for it before the Parliament and tried, and upon proof condemned for their designs and endeavours to cut the throat of myself and three or four more, that they singled out as being a little more than ordinary industrious to preserve the peace of the nation ; and did think to make a very good issue to the accomplishment of their designs. I say this was made good upon the trial. Before the Parliament sat, all the time the Parliament sat, they were about it. We did hint these things to them by several persons, that acquainted them therewith. But what fate we lay under I know not. It was conceived, it seems, we had [hinted] things that rather intended to persuade agreement and consent, and monies out of the people's purses, or I know not what ; but nothing was believed, though there was a series of these things distinctly and plainly communicated to many Members. The Parliament rose about the middle of January. By the twelfth of March after, they were in arms. But these were a company of mean fellows, alas, not a lord, nor a gentleman, nor a man of fortune, nor this nor that, amongst them ; but it was a poor headstrong people, a company of rash fellows, that were at the undertaking of this, and this was all. And by such things have men lost their consciences and honours, by complying upon such notions as these are.

Give me leave to tell you, we know it, we are able to prove it, and I refer you to that Declaration which is for provision against Cavaliers, as I did you to the

other that sets down the ground of our war with Spain, whether these things were so or no. If men will not believe, we are satisfied we do our duty. If we let you know things and the ground of them, it is satisfaction enough to us; but to see how men can reason themselves out of their honours and consciences in their compliance with those sort of people, which truly I must needs say some men had compliance with, that I thought never would for all the world, I must tell you so. These men rise in March; and that it was a general design, I think all the world must know and acknowledge. For it is as evident as the day that the King sent Sir Joseph Wagstaffe and another, the Earl of Rochester, to the North. And that it was general, we had not by suspicion and imagination, but we know individuals. We are able to make appear, that persons that carried themselves the most demurely and fairly of any men in England were engaged in this business. And he that gave our instructions lost his life for it in [Cologne]¹ country; I think I may now speak of it, because he is dead, but he did discover from time to time a full intelligence of these things. Therefore how men of wicked spirits may traduce us in that matter, or, notwithstanding all that hath been done, may still hold their compliances, I leave it. I think England cannot be safe, unless malignants be carried far away. We did [our duty] upon [such an] account as we are ready to give to all the world, and that done to them was

¹ Blank in MS. here. See Notes.

truly honest, aye, to them all, and upon undeniable grounds of justice and equity, knowing that they were in the eye and judgement of all the counties of England and all honest men in separating themselves for such a work all the land over. There was never any design, but we could hear of it out of the Tower. He that watched over that, would give us an account that within a fortnight, or such a [time]¹, there would be some stirrings, for there was a great concourse of people came to them, and that they had very great elevations of spirit. It was not only there, but in all the counties of England we have had informations that they were upon designs all over, besides some particular places which came to our particular assurance and knowledge we had as from persons we had from the several counties in England. And if this be so, then as long as commotions can be held on foot, you are in danger by your war with Spain, with whom all the Papal interest is joined. This Pope² is a person all the world knows to be a person of zeal for his religion, wherein perhaps he may shame us, and a man of contrivance, and wisdom, and policy, and his designs are known all over to be nothing else but endeavours to unite all the Popish interests in all the Christian world, against this nation above any, and against all the Protestant interest in the world. If this be so, and if you will take a measure of these things and we must still hold our esteem that we have had, [can we]³ be ready to shake hands with them

¹ 'thing' in text.² Alexander VII.³ 'and be ready' in text.

and the Cavaliers? What doth this differ from the [Arch]bishop of Canterbury to reconcile matters of religion, if this temper be upon us to unite with men in civil things? Give me leave to say, and I speak what I know, really I think [if] this nation cannot be happy upon the score of General &c.¹, without we have this shaking of hands, if this be so I tell you plainly,—I hope I need not, I wish all the Cavaliers in England and all the Papists heard me declare it, and many here besides yourselves,—I tell you there are a company of poor men that are ready to spend their blood against such compliance; and I am persuaded the same things of you.

If this be our condition, with respect had to this, truly let us go a little further, for I would lay open the danger wherein, I think in my conscience, we stand. And if God give not your hearts to see and discern that which is obvious, we shall sink and the house will fall about our ears upon such sordid attempts as these are. Truly there are a great many people in this nation that would not reckon up every pitiful thing,—that may be like a mouse nibbling at the heel,—but of considerable dangers. I will tell you plainly, for it is not time for compliments nor rhetorical speeches; I have none truly but to tell you how we find things.

There is a generation of men in this nation that cry up nothing but righteousness, and justice, and

¹ *So in text. Perhaps some reference to the Major-Generals: sentence imperfect.*

liberty ; and these are diversified in several sects and sorts of men. And though they may be contemptible, in respect they are many and so not like to make a solid vow to do you mischief, yet they are apt to agree *in aliquo tertio* ; they are known, yea well enough, to shake hands together, I should be loth to say with Cavaliers, but with all the scum and dirt of this nation, to put you to trouble. And therefore when I shall come to speak to the remedies, I shall tell you what are the most apt and proper remedies in all these respects. I tell you of the very time when there was an insurrection at Salisbury,—I doubt whether it be believed whether ever there was any rising in North Wales, Shrewsbury, Rufford-Abbey, where there was about five hundred horses, Marston-Moor, Northumberland, &c. when all these insurrections were,—at that very time there was a party which was very proper and apt to come between the Papists and Cavaliers. And that Leveling party hath some access lately that goes under a finer name or notion. I think they would be called Commonwealth's men, who perhaps have reason little enough. And it is strange that men of fortune and great estates should join with such a people, but if the fact be so, there needs no great reasons to discover it to be so, it being so by demonstration. I say, this people at that very time, they were pretty numerous and do not despise them, this people at that time the Cavaliers were risen, this very people had prepared a Declaration against all the things that had

been transacted, and called them I know [not] by what, tyranny, oppression, things against the liberty of the subject, and cried out for justice, and righteousness, and liberty. And what was all this business for, but to join with the Cavaliers to carry on that design? And these are things, not words; that Declaration we got, and the penner of it we got, and we have got intelligence also how the business was laid and contrived, which was hatched in the time of the sitting of that Parliament. I do not accuse anybody, but I say that was the time of it, an unhappy time. And a plausible Petition was penned, that must come to me forsooth to consider of these things and to give redress and remedies: and this was so. Now indeed I must tell you plainly, we suspected a great deal of violence then, and we did hunt it out. I will not tell you these as high things, but at that time that the Cavaliers were to rise, a party was to seize upon General Monk in Scotland and to commit him to Edinburgh Castle upon this pretence of liberty. And when they had seized upon him, and clapped him by the heels and some other true and faithful officers, they were resolved upon a number at the same time to march away for London, and to leave a party behind them to have their throats cut by the Scots. Though I will not say they would have done it, yet it cannot be thought otherwise but that a considerable army would have followed them at the heels. And not only thus, but this spirit and principle designed some little fiddling things upon some of

your officers to an assassination, and an officer was engaged that was upon the Guard to seize me in my bed; this was true. And other foolish designs there were, as to get in a room, to get gunpowder laid in it, and to blow up the room wherein I lay; and this, we can tell you, is truth. These are persons not worthy naming, but the things are really true, and this is the state wherein we have stood, with which we have conflicted since the last Parliament. And upon this account and in this combination that is it I say to you, that the ringleaders to all this are none but your old enemies, the Papists and Cavaliers; we have some in prison for these things.

Now we would be loth to tell you of notions more seraphical. These are poor and low conceits. We have had very seraphical notions. We have had endeavours to heal between two interests, one that was part of the Commonwealth's interest, and another that was a notion of a Fifth-Monarchy interest. Whom I do not repeat, whose condition I do not repeat, as thinking it not worth your trouble; but *de facto* it hath been so, that there hath been endeavours. As there was endeavours to make a reconciliation between Herod and Pilate that Christ might be put to death, so there hath been endeavours of reconciliation between the Fifth-Monarchy and the Commonwealth's men, that there might be union in order to an end, no end being so bad as that of Herod's, but in order to end in blood and confusion; and that you may know. I profess, I do not believe

[of] these two last, that of Commonwealth's men and Fifth-Monarchy men, [but] that [they] have stood at a distance. I think they did not participate; I would be so charitable, I would be, that they did not. But this I will tell you, that for the other, they did not only set these things on work, but sent a fellow, a wretched creature, an apostate from religion and all honesty, they sent him to Madrid to advise with the King of Spain to lend forces to invade this nation; promising satisfaction, if they would comply and concur with him, to have both men and monies; undertaking both to engage the fleet to mutiny and also your Army; to raise a party, that if the Spaniard would say where he would land, they would be ready to assist him. This person was sometimes a Colonel in the Army. He went with letters to the Archduke Leopoldus and Don John. That was an Ambassador, and gave promises of much monies, and came back again and hath been soliciting and did obtain monies, that he sent [thither] by Bills of Exchange. And God, by his providence, we being exceeding poor, directed that we light[ed] on some of them and some of the monies. Now if they be payable, let them be called for. If the House shall think fit to order any, they may have an inspection into these things. We think it our duty to tell you of these things and we can make them good. Here is your danger, that is it; and here is a poor nation that hath wallowed in its blood, though thanks be to God we have had peace these four or five years. Yet here is the condition

we stand in, and I think I should be false to you if I should not give you this true representation of it.

I am to tell you, by the way, a word to justify a thing that I hear is much spoken of. When we knew all these designs before mentioned, when we found that the Cavaliers would not be quiet,—no quiet there is, no peace to the wicked, saith the Scriptures, the 57th of Isaiah, they are like the troubled sea that cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt; they cannot rest, they have no peace with God and Jesus Christ in the remission of sins, they do not know what belongs to it, therefore they know not how to be at rest; therefore they can no more cease from their actions, than they can cease to be, nor so easily either,—truly when this insurrection was, and we saw it in all the roots and grounds of it, we did find out a poor little invention, which I hear has been much regretted. That was, we were resolved that those men, that put the honest and peaceable minded people that would not comply with such things as these are [to such expense, should bear the charge of it]. I say there was a little thing invented, which was the erecting of your Major-Generals, to have a little inspection upon the people, thus divided, thus discontented, thus dissatisfied in divers interests by the Popish party,—the Lord Taafe and others, the most consisting of natural Irish rebels and all those men you have fought against in Ireland, and expelled from thence as having had a hand in that bloody massacre of those that were under his power, who

should have joined in this excellent business of insurrection. And to the end that this nation, upon such a rise as that was, [might be settled, we invented this ;] so justifiable to necessity, so honest in every respect. Truly, if ever I think anything were honest, this was, as anything that ever I knew ; and I could as soon venture my life with it, as anything I ever undertook. We did find out,—I mean, myself and the Council,—that it was necessary to put that people who had occasioned all this trouble, if there were need to have greater forces to carry on this work, it was a most righteous thing to put the charge upon that party which was the cause of it. And if there be any man that hath a face looking averse to this, I dare pronounce him to be a man against the interest of England. Upon this account and upon this ground of necessity, when we saw what game they were upon, and knew individual persons, and of the greatest rank not a few engaged in this business,—I knew one man that laid down his life for it,—and by letters intercepted which made it as clear as the day, we did think it our duty to make them that were in the combination of men, as evident as anything in the world, equally to bear their shares of the charge, one with another, for the raising of the forces that were so necessary to defend us against these designs. And truly if any man be angry at it, I am plain and shall use a homely expression, let him turn the buckle of his girdle behind him. If this were to be done again, I would do it ! How the Major-Generals have

behaved themselves in that work! I hope they are men as to their persons of known integrity and fidelity, and men that have freely adventured their blood and lives for that good cause, if it be thought so, which in my conscience is so, and it was well stated against all the humours and fancies of men. And truly England doth yet receive one day more of lengthening out its tranquillity by that occasion and action; they do [say] that it doth manifest a year, for it is near so much time as that they have been exercised in that service. Well, your danger is, as you have seen; and truly I am sorry it is so great. I wish it might cause no despondency, as truly I think it will not, because we are Englishmen; that is one good account. And if God give a nation propriety of valour and courage, it is honour and mercy and much more, because you all, I hope, are Christian men, Christian men that know Jesus Christ, and know that cause that hath been mentioned to you this day.

Having declared to you my sense and my knowledge, pardon me if I say so, my knowledge of the condition of these poor nations, for it hath an influence upon them all, it concerneth them all very palpably, I should be to blame if I should not a little offer to you the remedies. I would comprehend them under two considerations; they are somewhat general. The one is, considering all things that may be done and ought to be done in order to security; that is one. And truly the other is a common

head. The other is, doing all things that ought to be done in order to reformation; and with that I shall close my discourse. And all that first hath been hinted at, was but to give you a sense of the danger that is most material and significant, for which you are principally called hither to advise of the remedies. I do put them into this method, not but [that] I think they are scarcely distinct. I do believe truly upon a serious and deliberate consideration, that a true reformation,—as it may and will, through God's acceptance and the endeavours of his poor servants, be,—that that will be pleasing in his sight, and [be] that, which will be not only that which shall avert the present danger, but be a worthy return for all the blessings and mercies which you have received. So in my conscience, if I were put to shew it this hour, where the security of the nations will lie, forces, arms, watchings, parts, strength, your being and freedom, be as politic and diligent and as vigilant as you can be, I would say in my very conscience, and as before Almighty God I speak it, I think your reformation, if it be honest, and thorough, and just, it will be your best security.

First, for that of security. We shall speak a little distinctly to that. You see where your war is. It is with the Spaniard. You have peace with all nations, or the most of them, Swede, Dane, Dutch. At present I say, it is well it is at present so, and so with the Portugal, France, the Mediterranean Sea, both those States both Christian and profane; the Mahometans,

you have a peace with them all. Only with Spain I say you have a difference, you have a war. I pray consider it. Do I come to tell you that I would tie you to this war? No. As you shall find your spirits and reasons grounded in what hath been said, so let you and me join in the prosecution of that war, as we are satisfied, and as the cause will appear to our consciences in the sight of the Lord. But if you can come to prosecute it, prosecute it vigorously, or do not do it at all. Truly I shall speak a very great word, one may ask a very great question. *Unde*, whence shall it come? Our nation is overwhelmed in debts. But I think it my duty to deal plainly, I shall speak to that which Nature teacheth us, if we engage in a business. A recoiling man may haply recover of his enemy, but the courage of an enemy, surely, will be in the keeping of his ground. Therefore it is that which I would advise you, that we may join together to prosecute it vigorously. In the second place, I would advise you that you would deal effectually, seeing there is such a complication of interests. If you believe that there is such a complication of interests, why then, in the name of God, that excites you the more to do it! Give me leave to tell you, that I do not believe that in any war, that ever was in former times, nor any engagements that you have had with others, this nation had more obligations upon them to look to itself, to forbear expense of time, precious time. [We have no time now] needlessly to mind things that are not essential, to be

quibbling about words and comparatively about things of no moment, and in the meantime, being in such a case as I suppose you know we are, to suffer ourselves to be wanting to a just defence against the enemies abroad, or not to be thoroughly sensible of the distempers that are at home. I know perhaps there are many considerations that may teach you, that may induce you to keep your hands tender from men of one religion and of such an interest as is so spread and rooted in the nation. Hence if they seek the eradication of the nation, if they are active as you have seen, and it hath been made manifest so as may not be denied, to the carrying on of their designs; if England must be eradicated by persons complicated with the Spaniard, if this must be brought in through distempers and falseness of men amongst themselves; then the question is no more but this, whether any consideration whatever shall lead us, for fear of eradicating of distempers, to suffer all the honest interests of this nation to be eradicated? Therefore speak but generally of any of their distempers of all sorts, and when a member cannot be cured the rule is plain, *ense rescindendum est immedicabile vulnus*. And I think it is such an advantage as that nothing could ever be more properly used, since this or any nation was.

As to those lesser distempers of people that pretend religion, [though that might seem to come under my first head] yet from the whole consideration of religion, which [it] would fall under, as one of the heads of reformation, I had rather put it under this head. And

I shall the less speak to it, because you have been so well spoken to this day already. I will tell you the truth, that that which hath been our practice since the last Parliament, hath been to let all this nation see that whatever pretensions be to religion, if quiet, peaceable, [they may enjoy] conscience and liberty to themselves, [so long as they do] not make religion a pretence for arms and blood. Truly we have suffered them, and that cheerfully, so to enjoy their own liberties. Whatsoever is contrary, let the pretence be never so specious, if it tend to combinations, to interests, and factions, we shall not care, by the grace of God, whom we rue withal, though never so specious, though never so quiet. And truly I am against all liberty of conscience repugnant to this; I am. If men will profess,—be they those under Baptism, be they those of the Independent judgement simply, and of the Presbyterian judgement,—in the name of God, encourage them, countenance them, while they do plainly hold forth to be thankful to God, and to make use of the liberty given them to enjoy their own consciences. For, as it was said to-day, undoubtedly this is the peculiar interest all this while contended for. That men that believe in Jesus Christ,—that is the form that gives the being to true religion, faith in Christ, and walking in a profession answerable to that faith,—men that believe the remission of sins through the blood of Christ and free justification by the blood of Christ, and live upon the grace of God, that those men, that are certain they are so, are members of

Jesus Christ and are to him as the apple of his eye. Whoever hath this faith, let his form be what it will, [if] he [be] walking peaceably without the prejudicing of others under another form, it is a debt due to God and Christ, and he will require it, if he may not enjoy this liberty. If a man of one form will be trampling upon the heels of another form, if an Independent, for example, will despise him under Baptism, and will revile him, and reproach, and provoke him, I will not suffer it in him. If, on the other side, those [of] the Anabaptists' [persuasion] shall be censuring the godly Ministers of the nation, that profess under that of Independency or those that profess under Presbytery, shall be reproaching or speaking evil of them, traducing and censuring of them, as I would not be willing to see the day on which England shall be in the power of the Presbytery to impose upon the consciences of others that profess faith in Christ, so I will not endure any reproach to them. But God give us hearts and spirits to keep things equal; which truly I must profess to you hath been my temper. I have had boxes and rebukes on one hand and on the other, some envying me for Presbytery, others as an in-letter to all the sects and heresies in the nation. I have borne my reproach, but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in preventing any one religion to impose upon another. And truly I must needs say, I speak it [not] experimentally, I have found it, I have, that those of the Presbyterian judgement [approve of it]. I speak it knowingly, as having

received [evidences] from very many counties. I have had petitions, and acknowledgements, and professions from whole counties, as from Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and other counties, acknowledgements that they do but desire they may have liberty and protection in the worshipping of God according to their own judgments, for the purifying of their congregations and the labouring to attain more purity of faith and repentance, that in their outward profession they will not strain themselves beyond their own line. I have had those, I have them to shew, and I confess I look at that as the blesseddest thing, which hath been since the adventuring upon this government, that these times produce. And I hope I gave them fair and honest answers. And if it shall be found to be the care of the Civil Magistrate to keep thus all the professing Christians, and not to suffer all things said or done to provoke others, I think he that would have more liberty than this, is not worthy of any. This therefore I think verily, if it may be thus under consideration for reformation, if it please God to give you and me hearts to keep this even; in giving countenance to Ministers, countenancing a just maintenance to them, whether by tithes or otherwise, for my part I should think I were very treacherous if I should take away tithes, till I see the Legislative power to settle maintenance to them another way. But whoever they be that shall contend to destroy them, that doth as really cut their throats, as it is a drift to take them away before a way of repara-

tion or other maintenance be had. Truly I think all such practices and proceedings would be discountenanced. I have heard it from as gracious a Minister as any is in England, I have had it professed, that it would be a far greater satisfaction to them to have it another way, if the State will provide it. Therefore I think for the keeping of the Church and people of God, and professors, in their several forms in this liberty, I think, as it hath been a thing that is the root of visible profession, the upholding this I think you will find a blessing in it, if God keep your hearts to keep things in this posture and balance, which is so honest and so necessary.

Truly there might be some other things offered to you in the point of reformation, *videlicet* a reformation of manners. But I had forgot one thing that I must remember! It is their work, you know, in some measure; yet give me leave to say, and I appeal unto your consciences, whether or no there hath not been an honest care taken for the ejecting of scandalous Ministers, and for the bringing in of them that have passed an Approbation. I dare say, such an Approbation as never passed in England before. And give me leave to say it hath been with this difference, that neither Mr. Doctor nor Parson in the University have satisfied those that have made their Approbations. Though, I can say so, they [the "Triers"] have a great esteem of learning and look at grace as most useful when it falls unto men with it, rather than without it, and wish with all their hearts the flourishing of all those

institutions of learning as much as any, yet I must say, it hath been nothing with them that have passed the best, with them or me. I think there hath been a conscience exercised, both by myself and the Ministers, towards them that have been approved ; I may say, such a one, as I truly believe was never known in England. And I do verily believe, that God hath for the Ministry a very great seed in the youth in the Universities ; and instead of studying books, [they] study their own hearts. I do believe, as God hath made a very great and flourishing seed to that purpose, so I believe [of] this Ministry of England, that, I think in my very conscience, that God will bless and favour, and hath blessed it to the gaining of very many souls. It was never so upon the thriving hand since England was, as it is this day. Therefore I say in these things, that tend to the profession of the Gospel and public Ministry, you will be so far from hindering, that you will further it ; and I shall be willing to join with you.

I did hint to you my thoughts about the reformation of manners ; and those abuses that are in this nation through disorder, is a thing that should be much in your hearts. It is that, that I am confident is a description and character of that interest you have been engaged against and pressing to, as any other, the badge and character of countenancing profaneness, disorder, and wickedness in all places. In my conscience it was a shame to be a Christian within these fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen years in this nation,

either in Caesar's house or elsewhere ; it was a shame, it was a reproach to a man, and the badge of Puritan was put upon it, and whatever is next of kin to that [reproach], and most agrees with that which is Popery, and the profane nobility and gentry of this nation. We would keep up the nobility and gentry ; and the way to keep them up is, not to suffer them to be patronizers nor countenancers of debauchery or disorders ; and you will hereby be as labourers in the work. And a man may tell as plainly as can be, what becomes of us by our indifferency or lukewarmness, under I know not what weak pretensions, if it lives in us. Therefore I say, if it be in the general, it is a thing I am confident, that the liberty and profaneness of this nation depends upon reformation, to make it a shame to see men to be bold in sin and profaneness, and God will bless you. You will be a blessing to the nation, and by this be more repairers of breaches than anything in the world. Truly these things do respect the souls of men, and the spirits, which are the men. The mind is the man. If that be kept pure, a man signifies somewhat ; if not, I would very fain see what difference there is betwixt him and a beast. He hath only some activity to do some more mischief.

There are some things which respect the estates of men, and there is one general grievance in the nation. It is, the Law. Not that the laws are grievance, but there are laws that are a grievance, and the great

grievance lies in the execution and administration. I think I may say it, I have as eminent Judges in this land, as have been had, or that the nation has had for these many years. Truly to be particular I could be, as to the executive part, to administration, but that would trouble you. But the truth of it is, there are wicked abominable laws that will be in your power to alter. To hang a man for sixpence, thirteen pence, I know not what; to hang for a trifle and pardon a murder, is in the ministration of the Law, through the ill framing of it. I have known in my experience abominable murders quitted; and to come and see men lose their lives for petty matters! This is a thing that God will reckon for, and I wish it may not lie upon this nation a day longer than you have an opportunity to give a remedy; and I hope I shall cheerfully join with you in it. This hath been a great grief to many honest hearts and conscientious people, and I hope it is in all your hearts to rectify it.

I have little more to say to you, being very weary, and I know you are so. Truly I did begin with that that I thought was to carry on this war, if you will carry it on, that we may join together in that vigorously. And I did promise an answer to an objection, But what will you prosecute it with? The State is hugely in debt. I believe it comes to ———. The treasure of the State is wasted. We shall not be an enemy to your inspection, but desire it, that you would inspect the Treasury, and how monies have been expended; and we are not afraid to look the

nation in the face upon this account. And therefore we will say negatively first, no man can say we have [mis-em]ployed the treasure of this nation and embezzled it to particular and private uses.

It may be we have not, as the world terms it, been so fortunate in all our successes. Truly, if we have that mind, that God may not determine us in these things, I think we shall quarrel at that which God will answer; and we hope we are able, it may be weakly, I do not doubt, but to give an answer to God, and to give an answer to every man's conscience in the sight of God of the reason of things. But we shall tell you, that it hath been a piece of that arch-fire that hath been in this your time, where there are flames good store, fire enough, and it will be your wisdom and skill, and God's blessing upon you, to quench them both here and elsewhere. I say it again, the endeavours [that] have been by those that have been appointed, by those that have been Major-Generals, I can repeat [of] them with comfort that it hath been effectual for the preservation of your peace. It hath been more effectual towards the discountenancing of vice and settling religion, than anything done these fifty years. I will abide it, notwithstanding the envy and slander of foolish men, but I say that hath been a [justifiable] design. I confess I speak that to you with a little vehemency, but you had not had peace two months together [without it]. I profess I believe it as much as ever I did anything in the world, and how instrumental

they have been to your peace and for your preservation by such means ; which we say was [more from] necessity, than from all instituted things in the world. If you would make laws against the things that God may dispose, to meet with everything that may happen, yea, make a law in the face of God, and you tell God you will meet with all his dispensations, and you will stay things whether he will or no. But if you make laws of good government, that men may know how to obey and do, for government, you may make laws that have frailty and weakness, aye, and good laws [that may be] observed. But if nothing should be done but what is according to law, the throat of the nation may be cut, till we send for some to make a law. Therefore certainly it is a pitiful, beastly notion, to think that though it be for ordinary government to live by law and rule, yet I think him

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yet to be clamoured at and blottered at,—when matters of necessity come, inviolably, then extraordinary remedies may not be applied. Who can be so pitiful a person ? I confess if necessity be pretended, there is so much the more sin by laying the irregularity of men's actions upon God, [as if it were he] who sent the necessity, who doth indeed send a necessity but to prevent the end. For as to an appeal to God, I own it conscientiously to God, and the principles of Nature dictate the thing, if there

¹ Written in margin 'blanks for 2 lynes.'

be a supposition, I say, of that which is not, every act at that time hath the more sin. This perhaps is rather to be disputed than otherwise, but I must say, I do not know one action, no, not one, but it hath been in order to the peace and safety of the nation. And the keeping of some in prison hath been upon such clear and just grounds, that no man can except against it. I know there are some imprisoned in the Isle of Wight, Cornwall, and elsewhere, and the cause of their imprisonment was, they were all found acting things that tended to the disturbance of the peace of the nation. Now these principles made us say to them, pray live quietly in your own counties, you shall not be urged with bonds or engagements, or to subscribe to the government. Yet they would not so much as say, we will promise to live peaceably. If others be imprisoned, it is because they have done such things; and if other particulars strike, we know what to say, as having endeavoured to walk as those that would not only give an account to God, another Magistrate, but as to give an account to men.

I confess I have digressed much [from my intention] to let you know that you would not be discouraged [in this war]. If you judge it truly necessary, that you cannot avoid it, I would not have you to be discouraged, if you think the State is exceeding poor. Give me leave to tell you, we have managed the Treasury not unthriftilly, nor to private uses, but for the use of the nation and government, and shall give you this short account. When their Long Parliament sat, this nation

owed 700,000*l.* We examined it; it was brought unto that. In that short meeting that was within half a year after the government came to our hands, I believe there was rather more, than less. They had 120,000*l.* a month; they had the King's, Queen's, Prince's, Bishops' lands, all delinquents' estates, and the Dean and Chapters' lands, which was a very rich treasure. As soon as ever we came to the government, we abated 30,000*l.* the first half year, and 60,000*l.* after. We had no benefit of those estates at all considerable, I do not think the fiftieth part of what they had, and give me leave to tell you, you are not so much in debt as we found you. We know it hath been maliciously dispersed, as if we had set the nation into 2,500,000*l.* debt; but I tell you, you are not so much in debt by some thousands, I think I may say, by some hundreds of thousands. This is true that I tell you. We have honestly, it may be not so wisely as some others would have done, but with honest and plain hearts laboured and endeavoured the disposal of treasure to public uses, and laboured to pull off the common charge, as you see, 60,000*l.* a month. And if we had continued that charge that was left upon the nation, perhaps we could have had as much money, as now we are in debt. These things being thus, I did think it my duty to give you this account, though it be wearisomeness to yourselves and me.

Now if I had the tongue of an Angel, if I were so certainly inspired as the holy men of God have been,

I could rejoice for your sakes and for these nations' sakes, and for the sake of God, and of this cause that we have been engaged in, that I could move affections in you to that, which if you do it will save this nation. If not, 'you plunge it, in all human appearance, and all interests, yea, and all the Protestants in the world, to irrecoverable ruin. Therefore I pray, aye, and beseech you in the name of Christ, shew yourselves to be men, quit yourselves like men. It doth not infer any reproach, if you do shew yourselves to be men, Christian men, which will only make you quit yourselves. I do not think that, to that work you have in hand, a neutral spirit will do it. It is a Laodicean spirit, and we know what God said of that Church; it was lukewarm, and therefore he would spew it out of his mouth. It is not a neutral spirit that is incumbent upon you; and if not a neutral spirit, it is much less a stupefied [spirit], inclining you in the least disposition the wrong way. They are, in their private consciences, every day making shipwreck, and it is no wonder, if these can shake hands with men of reprobate interests; such, give me leave to think, are the Popish interests, because the Apostle brands them so, having seared consciences, though I do not judge every man, but the ringleaders are such, the Scriptures foretold they should be such. It is not such a spirit will carry the work on. It is men that have works with faith, that know how to lay hold on Christ for remission of a Christian State, till a man be

brought to glory in hope. Such an hope kindled in men's spirits will act them to such ends as you are tending to, and so many as are partakers of this, and own your standings wherein the Providence of God hath set and called you to this work, will carry it on. If men through scruple be opposite, you cannot take them by the hand to carry them, because it were absurd; for if a man be scrupling the plain truth before him, it is in vain to meddle with him. He hath placed another image of the business in his own mind; and to say, "Oh! if we could but exercise wisdom to gain civil liberty, religion would follow," that's as common as can be in the world. Certainly there are such men, who are not maliciously blind; [may be, it is that blindness] which God for some causes exercises. It cannot be expected that they should do anything these men, [without] they must demonstrate that they are in bonds. Could we have carried it hitherto, if we had disputed these things? I must confess, I reckon that difficulty more than all the wrestling with flesh and blood. Doubting, hesitating men, they are not fit for your work. You must not expect that men of hesitating spirits, under the bondage of scruples, will be able to carry on this work, much less such as are mere[ly] carnal, natural, and such as having an outward profession of Godliness, which the Apostle speaks of often, are the enemies of the cross of Christ, whose God is their belly, and whose glory is their shame, who mind earthly things. Do you think these men will rise

to such a spiritual heat for the nation, that shall carry you to such a thing as this, that will meet with all the oppositions that the Devil and wicked men can make? Givé me leave to tell you, those that are called to this work, it will not depend upon formalities, nor notions, nor speeches. I do not look the work should be done by these, but by men of honest hearts, engaged to God, strengthened by providence, enlightened in his words to know his word; to which he hath set his seal, sealed with the blood of his Son in the blood of his servants. It is such a spirit as will carry on this work.

Therefore I beseech you, do not dispute of unnecessary or unprofitable things, that may divert you from the carrying on of so glorious a work as this is. I think every objection that ariseth, is not to be answered; nor have I time for it. I say, look up to God! Have peace amongst yourselves! Know assuredly, that, if I have interest, I am by the voice of the people the Supreme Magistrate, and, it may be, know somewhat that may satisfy my conscience if I stood in doubt. But it is an union, really it is an union, between you and me, and both of us united in faith and love to Jesus Christ, and to his peculiar interest in the world, that must ground this work. And in that, if I have any peculiar interest that is personal to myself, that is not subservient to the public end, it were no extravagant thing for me to curse myself, because I know God will curse me, if I have. And I have learned too much of God,

not to dally with him and to be bold with him in these things ; and I never was, and I hope I never shall be, bold with him, though I can be bold with men, if Christ be pleased to assist. I say, if there be love between us,—that the nations may say, these are knit together in one bond to promote the glory of God against the common enemy, to suppress everything that is evil, and encourage whatsoever is of godliness,—yea, the nation will bless you. And really, really, that and nothing else will work off these disaffections from the minds of men, which are as great, if not greater than all the oppositions you can meet with. I do know what I say. When I speak these things, I speak my heart before God ; and as I said before, I dare not be bold before him. I have a little faith. I have a little lived by faith, and therein I may be bold. If I should not speak the affections and secrets of my heart, I know he would not bear it at my hands. Therefore in the fear and name of God, go on with love and integrity against whatsoever arises contrary to these ends, which you have known and been told of ; and the blessing of God go with you. The blessing of God will go with you.

I have but this one thing to say more. I know it is troublesome, but I did read a Psalm yesterday, which truly may not unbecome me both to tell you of, and you to observe. It is the eighty-fifth Psalm, that is very instructive and significant ; and though I do but a little touch upon it, I desire your perusal

at your pleasure. It begins, "Lord, thou hast been favourable to thy land : thou hast brought back the captivity of Jacob. Thou hast forgiven the iniquity of thy people, thou hast covered all their sins. Thou hast taken away all thy wrath, thou hast turned thyself from the fierceness of thine anger. Turn us, O God of our salvation, and cause thine anger towards us to cease. Wilt thou be angry with us for ever? Wilt thou draw out thine anger to all generations? Wilt thou not revive us again, that thy people may rejoice in thee?" Then he calls upon God as the God of his salvation, and then saith he, "I will hear what the Lord will speak : for he will speak [peace] unto his people and to his saints : but let them not turn again to folly. Surely his salvation is nigh them that fear him, Oh, that glory may dwell in our land. Mercy and truth are met together : righteousness and peace have kissed each other. Truth shall spring out of the earth, and righteousness shall look down from heaven. Yea, the Lord shall give that which is good, and our land shall yield its increase. Righteousness shall go before him, and shall set us in the way of his steps." Truly I wish that this Psalm, as it is written in the book, might be better written in our hearts, that we may say as David, thou hast done this, and thou hast done that ; thou hast pardoned our sins, thou hast taken away our iniquities. Whither can we go to a better God, for he hath done it? It is to him any nation may come in their extremity for the taking away of his wrath. How did he do it? By pardoning their sins and

taking away their iniquities. If we can but cry unto him, he will turn and take away our sins. Then let us listen to him, and then consult and meet in Parliament, and ask him counsel, and hear what he saith, for he will speak peace to his people. If you be the people of God, and be for the people of God, he will speak peace, and we will not again return to folly, [as to] which [there] is a great deal of grudging in the nation, that we cannot have our horse-races, cock-fightings, and the like. I do not think these are unlawful, but to make them recreations, that they will not endure to be abridged of them, [is folly]. Till God hath brought us to this spirit, he will not bear with us. Aye, but he bears with them in France; they are so and so. Have they the gospel as we have? They have seen the sun but a little; we have great lights. If God give you a spirit of reformation, you will preserve this nation from turning again to these fooleries. And what will the end be? Comfort and blessing. Then mercy and truth shall meet together. Here is a great deal of truth among professors, but very little mercy. They are ready to cut the throats of one another; but when we are brought unto the right way, we shall be merciful as well as orthodox, and we know who it is that saith, that if a man could speak with the tongue of men and angels, and yet want that, he is but sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. Therefore I beseech you in the name of God, set your hearts to this, and if you give your hearts to it, then you will sing Luther's Psalm.

That is a rare Psalm for a Christian, and if he set his heart open and can approve it to God, we shall hear him say, "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble." ' If Pope, and Spaniard, and Devil, and all, set themselves against us, though they should compass us about like bees, as it is in the [hundred and] eighteenth Psalm, yet in the name of the Lord we should destroy them. And as it is in this Psalm of Luther's, "we will not fear though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the middle of the sea, though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof. There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God. God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved." Then he repeats, two or three times, "The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge."

I have done. All that I have to say, is to pray God, that he will bless you with his presence, and that he that hath your hearts and mine would shew his presence in the midst of us. I desire you will go together and choose your Speaker.'

35.

His Highness the Lord Protector's speech in the Painted Chamber to the Parliament there assembled, Nov. 27, 1656.

' Mr. Speaker,

I had some doubt in myself whether I should have spoken or no at this time, but from something

you delivered I think myself concerned to speak a little.

Mr. Speaker, this is the first time we have met together, and it is with great joy of heart to me to meet you here. I do now receive a return from God in some measure of my prayers for you, and though you have sat but a little time, that you have made many good laws, the effects whereof the people of this Commonwealth will with comfort find hereafter. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, you might have spared the excuse you made concerning your time, and as you have so well proceeded hitherto I doubt not but you will make a good progress. And I shall be always ready to assist you and join with you in anything for the being and well being of these nations, and continue my prayers for you.'

36.

Speech in answer to the congratulations of Parliament,
Jan. 23, 1657.

' Mr. Speaker,

I confess with much respect that you have put this trouble on yourselves upon this occasion; but I perceive there be two things that fill me full of sense. One is, the mercy on a poor unworthy creature; the second is, this great, and as I said, unexpected kindness of Parliament in manifesting such a sense thereof, as this is which you have now expressed: I speak not this with compliment.

That that detracts from the thing in some sense is, the inconsiderableness and unworthiness of the person that hath been the object and subject of this deliverance, to wit, myself. I confess ingenuously to you. I do lie under the daily sense of my unworthiness and unprofitableness, as I have expressed to you. And if there be, as I must readily acknowledge there is, a mercy in it to me, I wish I may never reckon it on any other account than this, that the life that is lengthened may be spent and improved to His honour that hath vouchsafed the mercy, and to the service of you and those you [re]present.

I do not know, nor did I think it would be very seasonable for me to say much to you upon this occasion, being a thing that ariseth from yourselves. Yet methinks the kindness you bear forth should kindle a little desire in me even at this present to make a short return. And as you have been disposed hither by the providence of God to congratulate my mercy, so give me leave in a very word or two to congratulate with you. Congratulations are ever conversant about good bestowed upon men, or possessed by them. Truly I shall in a word or two congratulate you with good you are in possession of, and in some respect I also with you.

God hath bestowed upon you, and you are in possession of it, three nations and all that appertains to them, which in either a geographical [or]¹ topical consideration are nations. In which also there are

¹ 'nor' in text.

places of honour and consideration, not inferior to any in the known world. Without vanity it may be spoken, truly God hath not made so much soil, furnished with so many blessings, in vain. But it is a goodly sight, if a man behold it *uno intuitu*, and therefore this is a possession of your[s] worthy congratulation. This is furnished give me leave to say. for I believe it is true, with the best people in the world possessing so much soil; a people in civil rights, in respect of their rights and privileges, very ancient and honourable. And in this people, in the midst of this people, a people, I know every one will hear it, that are to God as the apple of his eye; and he says so of them, be they many or be they few. But they are many, a people of the blessing of God, a people under his safety and protection; a people calling upon the name of the Lord, which the heathen do not; a people knowing God, and a people, according to the ordinary expressions, fearing God. And you have of this no parallel, no, not in all the world. You have in the midst of you glorious things, glorious things. For you have laws and statutes and ordinances, which, though not so all of them conformable as were to be wished to the law of God, yet on all hands pretend not to be long rested in, further than as they are conformable to the just and righteous laws of God. Therefore I am persuaded there is a heart and spirit in every good man to wish they did all of them answer the pattern. I cannot doubt but that which is in the heart will in due time break

forth. That endeavours will be that way, is another of your good things, with which in my heart you are worthily to be congratulated. And you have a magistracy that in outward profession, in pretence, in endeavour, doth desire to put life into these laws. And I am confident that among you will rest nothing, but a desire to promote every desire in others and every endeavour that hath tended or shall tend to the putting of these laws in execution. I do for this congratulate you. You have a gospel-ministry amongst you; that have you. Such a one as without vanity I speak it, or without caring at all for any favour or respect from them, save what I have upon an account above flattery or good words, such an one as hath excelled itself, and I am persuaded, to speak with confidence before the Lord, is the most growing blessing, one of them, on the face of this nation. You have a good eye, and in that I will share with your favours, a good God, a God that hath watched over you and us. A God that hath visited these nations with a stretched out arm and bore his witness against the unrighteousness and ungodliness of men, against those that have abused such nations, such mercies throughout, as I have reckoned up to you. A God that hath not only withstood such to the face, but a God that hath abundantly blessed you with the evidences of his goodness and presence. And he hath done things wonderful amongst us by terrible things in righteousness, he has visited us by wonderful things; in mercy and

compassion hath he given us this day of freedom and liberty to speak this, one to another, and to speak of his mercies as he hath been pleased to put into our hearts.

Truly, this word of conclusion. If this be so, give me leave to remember you but one word, which I offered to you with great love and affection the first day of meeting with you, this Parliament. It pleased God to put into my heart then to mention a Scripture to you, which would be a good conclusion of my speech now at this time to you. It was, that we being met to seek the good of so great an interest, as I have mentioned, and the glory of that God who is both yours and mine, how could we better do it than by thinking of such words as these, "His salvation is nigh them that fear him; that glory may dwell in our land"! I would not comment upon it. I hope I fear him, and let us more fear him. If this mercy at all doth concern you, as I see it doth, let me, and I hope you will with me, labour more to fear him than we have done, seeing such a blessing as his salvation is nigh them that fear him, seeing we are all of us the representatives of all the good of all these lands, that glory may dwell in our land. If this be so, mercy and truth shall meet together, righteousness and peace shall kiss each other. We shall know, you and I, as the father of this family, how to dispose our mercies to God's glory, how to dispose our severity, how to distinguish betwixt obedient and rebellious children, and not to do as Eli did, who

told his sons he did not hear well of them, when perhaps he saw ill by them ; and we know the severity of that. And therefore let me say that, though I would not descant upon the words, mercy must be joined with truth, truth in that respect that we think it our duty to exercise a just severity, as well as to apply kindness and mercy. And truly, righteousness and peace must kiss each other. If we will have peace without a worm in it, lay we foundations of justice and righteousness. And if it shall please God so to move you, as that you marry this double couple together, mercy and truth, righteousness and peace, you will, if I may be free to say so, be blessed whether you will or no.

And that you and I may, for the time the Lord shall continue us together, set our hearts upon this, [is that] which shall be my daily prayer ; and I heartily and humbly acknowledge my thankfulness to you.'

37.

'The humble Petition and Advice.' Speech to the Officers, concerning their address as to a Bill for Kingship, now before the House, Feb. 28, 165 $\frac{1}{2}$.

[Substance only.]

'7 March, 1656. Passages between the Protector and the hundred officers of the army, touching Kingship.

I suppose you have heard of the address made by

one hundred officers to his Highness yesterday seven-night, that his Highness would not hearken to the title (King) because it was not pleasing to his army and was matter of scandal to the people of God, of great rejoicing to the enemy; that it was hazardous to his own person and of great danger to the three nations; such an assumption making way for Charles Stuart to come in again.

His Highness returned answer presently to this effect, That the first man that told him of it was he, the mouth of the officers then present, (meaning Colonel Mills); that for his part he had never been at any cabal about the same, (hinting by that the frequent cabals that were against Kingship by certain officers).

He said the time was when they boggled not at the word (King), for the Instrument by which the government now stands was presented to his Highness with the title (King) in it, as some there present could witness, (pointing at a principal officer then in his eye,) and he refused to accept of the title. But how it comes to pass that they now startle at title, they best knew. That for his part he loved not the title, a feather in a hat, as little as they did.

That they had made him their drudge upon all occasions. To dissolve the Long Parliament, who had contracted evil enough by long sitting. To call a Parliament, or Convention, of their naming; who met, and what did they? Fly at liberty and property, in so much as if one man had twelve cows, they held

another that wanted cows ought to take a share with his neighbour. Who could have said anything was their own, if they had gone on? After their dissolution, how was I pressed by you (said he) for the rooting out of the ministry, nay rather than fail, to starve them out!

A Parliament was afterwards called; they sat five months; it's true we hardly heard of them in all that time. They took the Instrument into debate, and they must needs be dissolved; and yet stood not the Instrument in need of mending? Was not the case hard with me, to be put upon to swear to that which was so hard to be kept?

Some time after that, you thought it was necessary to have Major-Generals, and the first rise to that motion then was the late general insurrections, and was justifiable, and your Major-Generals did your parts well; you might have gone on. Who bid you go to the House with a Bill and there receive a foil?

After you had exercised this power a while, impatient were you till a Parliament was called. I gave my vote against it, but you [were] confident by your own strength and interest to get men chosen to your hearts and desires. How you have failed therein and how much the¹ country hath been obliged is well known.

That it is time to come to a settlement, and lay aside arbitrary proceedings so unacceptable to the nation. And by the proceedings of this Parliament

¹ 'the' repeated in text.

you see they stand in need of a check or balancing power, (meaning the House of Lords, or a house so constituted) for the case of James Naylor might happen to be your own case. By their judicial power they fall upon life and member, and doth the Instrument in being enable me to control it?

These were some of the heads insisted on in his speech, though perhaps not the same words yet the full sense, and the officers since that time are quieted and many fallen from the rest. Three Major-Generals are come about for a second House and a successor . . . &c.'

38.

'The humble Petition and Advice.' Speech to the House of Commons on their presenting the Bill, Whitehall, Tuesday, March 31, 1657.

'Mr. Speaker,

This frame of government, that it hath pleased the Parliament by your hand to offer to me, truly I should have a very brazen forehead if it should not beget in me a great deal of consternation of spirit, it being [of]¹ so high and great importance, as by your opening of it, and by the reading of it, is manifest to all men to be. The welfare, the peace and settlement of three nations, and all that rich² treasure of the best people in the world being involved

¹ Clarke MS. 'it being of the great and high importance.'

² Ibid. 'right.'

therein, I say, this consideration alone ought to beget in me the greatest reverence and fear of God, that ever possessed a man in this world.

I rather truly study¹ to say no more at this time than is necessary to give a brief and short answer, suitable to the nature of the thing. The thing is of weight, the greatest weight of anything that was ever laid before a man. And therefore it being of that weight, and consisting of so many parts as it doth,—in each of which much more than my life is concerned,—truly I think I have no more to desire of you at this time, but that you will² give me time to deliberate and consider what particular answer I may³ return to so great a business as this is.

I have lived the latter part of my life⁴ in, if I may say so, the fire, in the midst of trouble. And all things, all the things that hath befallen me since I was first engaged in the affairs of this Commonwealth, truly if they could⁵ be supposed⁶ to be brought into a narrow compass that⁷ I could take a view of them at once, I do not think they would, nor do I think they ought to, move my heart and spirit with [that]⁸ fear and reverence of God that becomes a Christian, as this thing that hath been now offered by you to me. And truly my comfort in all my life hath been, that the burdens that have lain

¹ Clarke MS. 'and rather to study.'

² Ibid. 'would.'

³ 'may' written twice in text.

⁴ 'age,' 'troubles,' Lansdowne MS.

⁵ 'should,' Ibid.

⁶ Clarke MS. 'if it could be supposed they should be.'

⁷ Ibid. 'if.'

⁸ Lansdowne MS.

heavy upon me, they have been laid upon me by the hand of God. And I have not known, and [have] been many times at a loss, which way to stand under the weight of what hath lain¹ upon me, but by looking at the conduct² and pleasure of God in it, which hitherto I have found to be a good pleasure towards me. And should I give any resolution in this suddenly³, without seeking to have an answer put into my heart, and so into my mouth, by him that hath been my God and my guide hitherto, it would give you very little cause of comfort in such a choice, as you have made in such a business as this is. Because, it would [savour]⁴ more to be of the flesh, to proceed from lust, to arise from arguments of self⁵; and if, whatsoever the issue of this business be⁶, it should have such motives in me, and such a rise in me, it may prove even a curse to you and to these three nations, which⁷ I verily believe have intended well in this business, and have had those honest and sincere aims at⁸ the glory of God, the good of his people, [and] the rights of the nation. I verily believe these have been your aims, and God forbid that so good aims should suffer by any dishonesty or indirectness on my part. For although in the affairs that are in the world things may be

¹ *Clarke MS.* 'he laid on me.'

² *Ibid.* 'candour.'

³ *Ibid.* 'any resolution in anything suddenly.'

⁴ *Lansdowne MS.*

⁵ *Clarke MS.* 'self-love.'

⁶ *Ibid.* 'this business shall be, if it should have such motives rising in me, it might prove.'

⁷ 'who,' *Lansdowne MS.*

⁸ *Clarke MS.* 'to.'

intended well,—as they are always, or for the most part, by such as love God and fear God and make him their aim ¹; and [such] ² honest ends and purposes as these are I believe yours ³ [to be],—yet if these considerations fall upon a person or persons that God takes no pleasure in, that perhaps may be at the end of this ⁴ work, that to please any of those humours or considerations that are of this world shall run upon such a rock ⁵ as this is without due consideration, without integrity, without sincerity, without approving the heart to God, and seeking an answer from him, and putting things as for life and death to him, that such an answer may be received as may be a blessing to the person to be used to answer these noble and worthy and honest intentions of those that have prepared and perfected this work, it would be like a match, where a good and worthy and virtuous man mistakes in the person that he makes love to, and, as it often proves ⁶, [she] prove a curse to the man and to the family through mistake. And lest ⁷ this should be so to you, and to these nations, whose good I cannot be persuaded but you have in your thoughts aimed at, why then it had been better, I am sure of it, that I had never been born.

I have therefore but this one word to say to you,

¹ Clarke MS. 'aims' in text.

² Lansdowne MS. 'so' in text.

³ Clarke MS. 'and such honest ends as these are that you have proposed.'

⁴ Ibid. 'their'; Lansdowne MS. 'his.'

⁵ Clarke MS. 'work'; Lansdowne MS. 'rock.'

⁶ Clarke MS. 'mistaken . . . , it after prove a very great curse.'

⁷ Ibid. 'if.'

that seeing you have made [this]¹ progress in this business, and completed the work on your part, I may have some short time to ask counsel of God and of my own heart. And I hope that neither the humour of any weak or unwise people, nor yet the desires of any that may have lusting after things that are not good, shall steer² me to give other than such an answer as may be ingenuous and thankful, thankfully acknowledging your care and integrity, and such an answer as shall be for the good of those, that I presume you and I serve, and are ready³ to serve. And truly I may say this also, that as the thing will deserve deliberation, the utmost deliberation and consideration on my part, so I shall think myself bound to give as speedy an answer to these things as I can.'

39.

'The humble Petition and Advice.' Speech to Lord Whitelocke and the Committee, appointed to attend his Highness, Whitehall, Friday, April 3, 1657.

'My Lord,

This paper in my hand is a copy of the Petition and Advice, which it pleased the Parliament to present unto me in the Banqueting-House on Tuesday last.

I am very heartily sorry that I did not make this

¹ *Lansdowne MS.*

² *Clarke MS.* 'alter me from giving'; *Lansdowne MS.* 'steer.'

³ *Lansdowne MS.* 'made.'

desire of mine known¹ before this time, which was it² I acquainted them with by letter this day. The reason was, because some infirmity of body had seized upon me before these two last days of yesterday and Wednesday.

I have as well as I could taken consideration of the things contained in it³, and sought of God that I might return such an answer as might become me and be worthy of the Parliament.

I must needs bear testimony⁴ for you, that you have been zealous of the two greatest concernments that God has in the world. [The]⁵ one [is that]⁵ of religion and the preservation of the professors thereof, to give them all due and just liberty, and to assert the truths of God, which you have done in part in this paper, and referred to be done more fully by yourselves and me [hereafter]⁵. And as to the liberties of professors⁶, though under various forms, you have done that which never was done before, and I pray God it may not fall upon the people of God, or any sort of them, as a fault⁷ if they do not put such a value upon it⁸, as being such a thing as was

¹ 'known to the Parliament,' Clarke MS.

² 'that,' Ibid.

³ 'in the paper which was presented to me by the Parliament in the Banqueting-House upon Tuesday last,' Ibid. Perhaps inserted by the writer.

⁴ 'this testimony,' Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ 'men professing godliness under variety of forms amongst us,' Ibid.

⁷ 'as a fault in them or any of them,' Ibid.

⁸ 'upon what is done as never was put upon anything since Christ time for such a Catholic interest for the people of God,' Ibid.

never since Christ's time for such a Catholic interest of the people of God.

The other thing [cared for is]¹ the civil liberties [and interests]¹ of the nations, which although it be, and indeed ought to be subordinate to that of the people of God², yet it is the next best God hath given men in the world, and better than any words, if well [cared for,] to fence the people of God in their interest. And if any [one whatsoever]¹ think that the interest of God's people and the civil interest³ are inconsistent, I wish my soul may not enter into his or their secret.

These are things, I must acknowledge, Christian and honourable, and are provided for by you, both like Christians, men of honour, and Englishmen : and to this I must and shall bear my testimony, while I live, against all gainsayers whatsoever. And upon these two interests I shall, if God account me worthy, live and die. And I must say, that if I were to give an account before a greater tribunal than any that's earthly, [and if I were asked]¹ why I engaged [all along]¹ in the late wars, I could give no account but it would be wicked, if it did not comprehend these two ends.

Only you will give me leave to say, and to say it seriously, the issue will prove it so, that you have one or two considerations that do stick with me. The

¹ *Clarke MS.*

² 'to a more peculiar interest of God,' *Ibid.*

³ *i. e.* 'the interest of the nation and the interest of the people of God.'

one is that you have named me by another title than that I now bear ; you do necessitate my answer to be categorical, and you leave me without a liberty of choice save as to all.

I question not your wisdom in doing of it, but think myself obliged to acquiesce in your determinations. Knowing you are men of wisdom, and considering the trust you are under, it is a duty not to question the reasons of anything you have done. I should be very brutish should I not acknowledge the exceeding high honour and respect you have had for me in this paper. Truly, according to what the world calls good,—it has all good in it according to worldly apprehension, [to wit,] sovereign power,—you have testified your value and affection as to my person as high as you could ; for more you could not do. I shall always keep a grateful memory of this¹ in my heart, and by you I give the Parliament this my grateful acknowledgement. Whatever other men's thoughts may be, I shall not know² ingratitude.

But I must needs say that that may be fit for you to do, which may not be fit for me to undertake. As I should reckon it a very great presumption should I ask you the reason of your doing any one thing in this paper,—except very few things the Instrument bears testimony to itself,—so you will not take it unkindly if I ask you this addition of the Parliament's favour, love and indulgence unto me, [that]³ it

¹ 'that,' Clarke MS.

² 'own,' Ibid.

³ 'if it be taken' in text ; 'towards me, that it be taken,' Ibid.

be taken in tender part if I give such an answer, as I find in my heart to give [in this business]¹, without urging many reasons for it, save such as are most obvious and most for my advantage and purpose in answering, to wit, that I am unable for such a trust and charge. And if the answer of the tongue as well as the preparation of the heart be from God, I must say my heart and thoughts, ever since I heard the Parliament were upon this business,—though I could [not take]¹ notice of your proceedings [therein]¹ without breach of your privileges, yet as a common person I confess I heard of it, as in common with others,—I must say I have been unable to attain no further than this, that seeing the way is hedged up as it is to me, (I cannot accept the things offered unless I accept all,) I have not been able to find it my duty to God and [to]¹ you to undertake this charge under that title. The most I said in commendation of this Instrument may be returned upon me thus, Are there such good things so well provided for, why cannot you accept them without such an ingredient²? Nothing must make a man's conscience his servant, and really and sincerely it is my conscience that guides me to this answer. And if Parliament be so resolved [to necessitate my answer to be categorical] it will not be fit for me to use any inducements by you to alter their resolutions.

¹ *Clarke MS.*

² 'Why cannot you accept them; because of such an ingredient?' *MS. Adds. Ayscough, 6125. See Notes.*

This is all I have to say. I desire it may be, and I do not doubt but it will be, with candour and ingenuity represented to them by you.'

40.

'The humble Petition and Advice.' Speech to the House of Commons in the Banqueting-House, Wednesday, April 8, 1657.

'Mr. Speaker,

No man can put a greater value than I hope I do, and shall do, upon the desires and advices of the Parliament. I could in my [own]¹ heart aggravate both concerning the persons advising, and concerning the advice, readily acknowledging that it is the advice of the Parliament² of these three nations. And if a man could suppose it were not a Parliament to some, yet doubtless it should be so to me, and to us all that are engaged in this common cause, wherein we have been engaged. I say, surely it ought to be a Parliament to us, because it arises [as]¹ a result of those issues and determination of settlement that we have laboured to arrive at: and therefore I do most readily acknowledge the Authority advising these things.

I can aggravate also to myself the general [notion of the things]³ advised to, as being things tending to the settlement of the chiefest things [that]⁴ can fall

¹ Sloane MS.

² 'of the Parliament' repeated in Sloane MS.

³ Public Intelligencer and Sloane MS.; 'notions of the thing' in text.

⁴ Ibid.; 'as' in text.

into the hearts of men to desire or to endeavour after: and [this]¹ at such a time when truly I may think the nation is big with expectation of anything that may add to their better being. I therefore must needs put a very high [esteem upon]¹, and have a very reverent opinion of anything that comes from you: and so I have had of this Instrument, and, I hope, [so]² I have [already]¹ expressed [myself]¹. And what I have expressed hath been, if I flatter not myself, from a very honest heart towards the Parliament and the public. I say not these things to compliment you, for we are past all those things, all considerations of that kind. We must all be very real now, if ever we will be so.

Howbeit, your title and name you give to this paper makes me to think you intended advice, and I should transgress against all reason should I make any other construction than [that] you did intend advice. I would not lay [a] burden on my³ beast, but I would consider his strength to bear it: and if you will lay a burden upon a man that is conscious to his own infirmities and disabilities, and doth make some measure of counsel that may seem to come from heaven,—counsel in the word of God, who leaves a room for charity, and for men to consider their own strength,—I hope it will be no evil [in me]⁴ to measure your advice and mine own infirmity together. And truly those will have some influence

¹ *Public Intelligencer*.

² *Sloane MS.*; 'as' in text.

³ *MS. Ayscough* 'any.'

⁴ *Ibid.*

[upon]¹ conscience, conscience in him that [hath] received² talents to know how he may answer the trust of them: and such a conscience have I had, and still have. And therefore when I thought I had an opportunity to make answer, I made that answer; and am a person, and have been, before and then and since, lifting up my heart to God, to know what might be my duty at such a time as this, and upon such [an occasion]³ and trial as this was to me.

Truly, Mr. Speaker, it has been heretofore a matter of, I think, but philosophical discourse, that a great place, great authority, is a great burden. I know it is⁴, and I know a man that is convinced in his conscience, that nothing less will enable him to the discharge of it than to have assistance from above; that it may very well require [him], in such a subject so convinced and so persuaded, to be right with the Lord in such undertakings. And therefore to speak very clearly and plainly to you, I had, and I have, hesitation⁵ as to that individual thing. If [I undertake]⁶ anything not in faith, I shall serve you in mine own unbelief, and I shall then be the unprofitablest servant that ever a people or nation had.

Give me leave therefore to ask counsel. I am ready to render a reason of my apprehension, which

¹ *Sloane MS.*

² *Ibid.* 'that receives.'

³ *Ibid.*; 'occasions' in text.

⁴ *Sloane MS.* reads 'I think but of a philosophical discourse, that great places, great place, that great authority, it is a great burden, I know it is so.'

⁵ *Ibid.* 'my hesitations.'

⁶ *Ibid.*; 'if undertaken' in text.

happily may be overswayed by better apprehension. I think so far I have deserved no blame, nor do I take it that you lay any upon me, only you mind me of the duty that is incumbent upon me. Truly the same answer that I have as to this point of duty one way, the same consideration have I as to duty [another way]¹. I would not urge to you the point of liberty [surely you have provided for liberty]². I have borne my witness to it, civil and spiritual; the greatest provision that ever was made have you made, and I know you do not intend to exclude me. The liberty I ask is to [vent]³ my own doubts, and mine own fears and mine own scruples, though happily, in such cases as these are, the Word hath provided⁴ that a man's conscience ought to know no scruples. Surely mine doth, and I dare not dissemble: and therefore they that are knowing in the ground of their own actions will be best able to measure advice to others.

There are many things in this government besides that one of the name and title, that [deserve]⁵ very much information [as]⁶ to my judgement. It is you, and none but you, that can capacitate me to receive satisfaction in them. Otherwise, I say truly, I must say that I am not persuaded to the performance of my trust and duty, nor informed, and so not [actuated]⁷ as I know you intend I should [be]⁸, and

¹ Sloane MS.

² Ibid.

³ *Public Intelligencer*; 'veal'? in text; Sloane MS. 'vent.'

⁴ *Public Intelligencer* reads 'the world hath judged,' so does Sloane MS.

⁵ 'deserves' in text.

⁶ *Public Intelligencer* and Sloane MS.

⁷ 'acted' in text.

⁸ *Public Intelligencer*.

every man in the nation should [be]¹,—and you have provided for them,—as a free man, as a man that doth possibly, rationally, and conscientiously. And therefore I cannot tell what other return to make to you than this. I am ready to give you a reason if you will, I say, capacitate me to give it, [and]² yourselves to receive it, and [to do that]³ in the other things, that may inform me a little more particularly than this Vote, that you have expressed yesterday, and hath been now read by you to me.

And truly I hope when I understand the ground of these things, the whole neither being for your good nor mine, but for the good of the nations, there will be no doubt but we may [even]⁴ in these particulars find out those things that may answer our duty, mine and all our duties, to those nations whom we serve.

And this is that, that I do, with a great deal of affection and honour, and respect, offer now to you.'

41.

'The humble Petition and Advice.' Speeches to the Committee, Saturday, April 11, 1657.

Lord Whitelocke. 'I only understand, that by order of the Parliament, this Committee are tied up to receive what your Highness shall be pleased to offer, as to your doubts or scruples upon this paper: the very words of the Order are, *That the Committee have power to*

¹ *Public Intelligencer.*

² *Ibid.*; 'to' in text.

³ *Ibid.*; 'and as in the other things' in text.

⁴ *Public Intelligencer and Sloane MS.*

attend your Highness, to receive from your Highness your doubts and scruples, touching any the particulars contained in the humble Petition and Advice, formerly presented; and in answer thereunto, to offer to your Highness reasons for your satisfaction, and for the maintenance of the Resolutions of the House; and such particulars as we cannot satisfy your Highness in, that we may report the same to the Parliament what particulars your Highness shall think fit to object. Your Highness is pleased to mention the government, as it now is, and [it] seems to some of our apprehensions as if your Highness did make that an objection, If the government be well, why do you change it? If that be intended by your Highness as an objection in the general, I suppose the Committee will give you satisfaction.'

Lord Protector. 'Sir, I think that neither you nor I, but meet with a very good heart to come to some issue of this great business. And truly that is, that I cannot assure you I have all the reason and argument in the world to move me to it, and am exceeding ready to be ordered by you in the way of proceeding. Only I confess, according to those thoughts I have, as I have answered my own thoughts in preparing for such a work as this is, I have made this notion of it to myself, that having met you twice,—at the Committee first, and returned you that answer that I gave you then, and the House a second time,—I do perceive that the favour and the indulgence that the House shews me in this, is, that I might receive satisfaction. I know they might have been positive in the thing, and said they had done enough. If they had only made such an address to me, they might have insisted upon it, only to offer it. Yet I could plainly

see it was my satisfaction they aimed at. I think really and sincerely it is my satisfaction they intend, and truly I think there is one clause in the Paper that doth a little warrant that, 'to offer such reasons for his satisfaction, and for the maintenance of the Resolutions of the House.'

Now Sir, it is true the occasion of all this is the answer that I made. That occasions a Committee to come hither in order to my satisfaction. And truly, Sir, I doubt,—if you will draw out those reasons from me, I will offer them to you,—but I doubt on my own part if you should proceed that way. It would put me a little out of the method of my own thoughts; and it being mutual satisfaction that is endeavoured, if you will do me the favour, it will more agree with my method. I shall take it as a favour, [and] if it please you, I will leave you to consider together you own thoughts of it.

Lord Whitelocke. 'The Committee that are commanded by the Parliament, and are here present to wait upon your Highness, I do suppose cannot undertake to give the Reasons of the Parliament, for that they have done; but any Gentleman here can give his own particular apprehension for your Highness' satisfaction; and if you will be pleased to go in the way which you have propounded, and either in general or in particular to require a satisfaction from the Committee, I suppose we shall be ready to do the best we can to give you satisfaction.'

Lord Protector. I think if this be so, then I suppose nothing can be said by you, but what the Parliament hath dictated to you, and I think that is clearly

expressed, that the Parliament intends satisfaction : then is it as clear, that there must be reasons and arguments, that have light and conviction in them, in order to satisfaction.

I speak for myself in this, I hope you will think it [not]¹ otherwise. I say it doth appear so to me, that you have the liberty of your own reasons. I think if I should write any of them², I cannot call this the "reason" of the Parliament. The Parliament in determinations and conclusions, by Votes of the several particulars of the government, that reason is dilated and diffused, and every man hath a share of it. And therefore when they have determined such a thing, certainly it was reason that led them up into it ; and if you shall be pleased to make me partaker of some of that reason, I do very respectfully represent to you, that I have a general dissatisfaction at the thing. And I do desire that I may be informed in the grounds that lead you, whom I presume are all satisfied persons to the thing and every part of it. And if you will be pleased to think so fit, I will not farther urge it upon you. To proceed that way, it will be a favour to me, otherwise, I shall deal plainly with you, it doth put me out of the method of my own conceptions ; and then I shall beg that I may have an hour's deliberation, and that we might meet again in the afternoon.

Lord Chief Justice. 'The Parliament sent us to wait upon your Highness, to give your Highness any satisfaction

¹ 'no' in text.

² i. e. have to assign definite objections in writing.

that is in our understandings to give. The whole paper consists of many heads, and if your Highness intend satisfaction, the propositions being general, we can give but general satisfaction, and therein we are ready. If that be your Highness' meaning, I think we shall be ready to give satisfaction as far as our understandings.'

Lord Protector. If you will please to give me leave, I do agree. Truly the thing is general as it is ; either falling under the notion of settlement, that is a general that consists of many particulars, and truly if you call it by that it is titled, there it is general, it is advice, desires and advice. And that, the truth is, that I have made my objection in, is but to one thing as yet ; only the last time I had the honour to meet the Parliament, I did offer to them that they would put me into a condition to receive satisfaction [as] to [all] the particulars. No question, I might easily offer something particular for debate, if I thought that that would answer the end ; for truly I know my end and yours is the same, that is, to bring things to an issue one way or other, that we may know where we are, that we may attain that general end, and that is settlement. The end is in us both, and I durst contend with any one person in the world, that it is not more in his heart than in mine. I could go to some particulars to ask a question, or ask a reason of the alteration, which would well enough let you into the business, that it might ; yet I say, it doth not answer me. I confess I did not so strictly examine that Order of Reference, or whether I read it or no I cannot tell you. If you will have it that

way, I shall, as well as I can, make such an objection as may occasion some answer to it, [and] though perhaps I shall object weak enough, I shall very freely submit [it] to you.

Lord Chief Justice. 'The Parliament hath commanded us for that end, to give your Highness satisfaction.'

Lord Commissioner Fines. 'May it please your Highness, looking upon the Order, I find that we are empowered to offer any reasons that we think fit, either for the satisfaction of your Highness, or maintenance of what the Parliament hath given you their advice in; and I think we are rather to offer to your Highness the Reasons of the Parliament, if your Highness' dissatisfaction be to the alteration of the government in general, or in particular.'

Lord Protector. I am very ready to say I have no dissatisfaction that it hath pleased the Parliament to find out a way, though of alteration, to bring these nations into a good settlement; and perhaps you may have judged the settlement we were in, was not so much for the great end of government, the liberty and good of the nations, and the preservation of all those honest interests that have been engaged in this cause. I say I have no objection to the general, that the Parliament hath thought fit to take consideration of a new settlement or government. But you having done it as you have, and made me so far interested in [the business] as to make such an overture to me, I shall be very glad, if you so please to let me know it, that besides the pleasure of Parliament [I] may be [told] somewhat of the reason of Parliament for interesting me in this thing and for making the

alteration such as it is. Truly I think I shall as to the other particulars [follow]¹ this [method of procedure]. I shall be very ready to assign particular objections to clear that to you, that [it] may be either better to clear, or to help me at least to a clearer understanding of the things for better good,—for that I know is in your hearts as well as mine,—though I cannot presume that I have anything to offer you that may convince you. But if you will take [it] in good part, I shall offer somewhat to every particular.

If you please. As to the first of the thing, I am clear as to the ground of the thing, being so put to me as it hath been put. I think that some of the grounds upon which it is done will very well lead into such objections or doubts as I may offer, and will be a very great help to me in it, and if you will have me [discuss] this, or that, or the other doubt that may arise methodically, I shall do it.

Lord Whitelocke, in giving the reason for the alteration of the present settlement, says ‘that it will not be so clear a settlement and foundation for the preservation of the Rights and Liberties of the Nation, as if we came to a settlement by the Supreme Legislative power; upon that ground it was taken into consideration, . . .’

Referring to the alteration of title, he remarks, ‘it was thought that the title which is known by the Law of England for many ages, many hundreds of years together received, and the Law fitted to it, and that to the Law, that it might be of more certainty and clear establishment, and more conformable to the laws of the nation, that

¹ ‘swallow’ in text.

that title should be that of *King*, rather than that other of *Protector*.

The *Master of the Rolls* thought his Highness mistaken in thinking it a mere difference of name, 'as if it were a bare title . . . for upon due consideration you shall find that the whole body of the Law is carried upon this wheel . . .' i. e. Kingship. The title of Protector was based on the Instrument only, and 'it hath no limit at all'; there was a great prejudice against change of names, witness the failure of the King to call himself King of Great Britain instead of King of England, and the unwillingness of Parliament to be called 'The Representative of the People.' The Parliament having voted to restore the title of King, 'this is vox populi,' and he hoped his Highness would agree to it.

Lord Protector. I cannot deny but the things that have been spoken have been spoken with a great deal of weight. And it is not fit for me to ask any of you, if you have a mind to speak further of this! But if it had been so [your]¹ pleasure, truly then I think it would have put me in, according to the method and way I have conceived to myself, to the more preparedness to have returned some answer. And if it had not been to you a trouble, I am sure the business requires it from any man in the world if he were, in any case much more from me, to make serious and true answers. I mean such as are not feigned in my own thoughts, but such wherein I express the truth and honesty of my heart: I mean that by true answers.

I did hope that when I had heard you, so far as it is your pleasure to speak to this head, I should have

¹ 'their' in text.

then, taking some short notice as I did, have been in a condition this afternoon, if it had not been a trouble to you, to have returned my answer upon a little advisement with myself. But seeing you have not thought it convenient to proceed this way, truly I think I may well say that I had need have a little thoughts of the thing to return an answer to it, lest your debates should end on my part with a very vain discourse and with lightness, which it is very like to do. I say therefore, if you think to proceed further to speak to these things, I should have made my own short animadversions on the whole this afternoon, and made some short reply, and this would have ushered me in, not only to have given the best answer I could, but to have made my own objections.

The *Lord Chief Justice* then spoke, 'since it is your Highness' pleasure, that it should be spoken now altogether, by those that have anything to say.' It was proposed to set up Kingship, because it was approved of by the word of God, ancient, and well known to the Law; whereas the other title was not upon a sure establishment. 'If so be your Highness should do any act, and one should come and say, *My Lord Protector, why are you sworn to govern by the Law, and you do thus and thus, as you are Lord Protector?* Do I? Why, how am I bound to do? *Why, the King could not have done so!* Why, but I am not King, I am not bound to do as the King, I am Lord Protector; shew me that the Law doth require me to do it as Protector; if I have not acted as Protector, shew me where the Law is! Why you put any one to a stumble in that case, . . .' *Sir Charles Wolseley* repeated the argument, 'that the Law knows not a Protector'; 'this nation hath ever been a lover of Monarchy, and of Monarchy under the title of

King'; 'your Highness hath been pleased to call yourself, as when you speak to the Parliament, a servant; you are so indeed to the people, and 'tis your greatest honour so to be. I hope then, Sir, you will give the people leave to name their own servant; that is a due you cannot, you will not certainly deny them.' *Lord Commissioner Fines, Lord Commissioner Lisle, and Lord Broghill* made similar speeches.

Lord Protector. I have very little to say to you at this time. I confess I shall never be willing to deny or defer those things that come from the Parliament to the supreme Magistrate, if they come in the bare and naked authority of such an assembly as known by that name, and are really the representation of so many people as a Parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, is. I say it ought to have its weight, and it hath so, and ever will have with me. In all things a man is free to answer desires as coming from Parliaments; I may say that. But in as much as the Parliament hath been pleased to condescend to me so far, to do me this honour, a very great one added to the rest, to give me the advantage of so many Members of theirs, so able, so understanding the grounds of things, it is, I say, a very singular honour and favour to me. And I confess, I wish I may, and I hope I shall, do that [that] becomes an honest man to do, in giving an answer to these things, according to the desire, that either I have, or God shall give me, or I may be helped by reasoning with you unto. And I did not indeed in vain allege conscience in the first answer I gave;

but I must say, I must be a very unworthy person to receive such favour, if I should prevaricate when I said things did stick upon my conscience, which I must still say they do. Only I must say I am in the best way that I can be for information, [and] I shall gladly receive it.

Here have been divers things spoken by you to-day, with a great deal of judgement, and ability, and knowledge. And I think the things, or the arguments, or reasonings that have been used, have been upon these three accounts; to speak to the thing simply, or in the abstract notion of the title, and the positive reasons upon which it stands; and then comparatively both in the thing and in the foundation of it, which,—what it is to shew the goodness of it comparatively,—it is alleged to be so much better than what is, and that is so much short of doing the work that this will do; and thirdly, some things have been said by way of precaution, upon arguments that are a little from the thing in the nature of it, but are considerations from the temper of the people of the nation, what will gratify them, which surely is considerable, as also by way of anticipation of me in my answer, by speaking to some objections that others have made against this thing. These are things in themselves each of them considerable. To answer to objections, I know it is a very weighty thing; and to make objections is very easy, and that will fall to my part. And I am sure I shall, if I make them to men that know so well how to answer them,

because they have in part received them from others upon the debates already had. But upon the whole matter, I having as well as I could taken these things that have been spoken, which truly are to be acknowledged by me to be very learnedly spoken, I hope therefore you will give me a little time to consider of them, [and tell me] when it may be your best time for me to return to you to meet you again.

Lord Whitelocke. 'Your Highness will be pleased to appoint your own time.'

Lord Protector. On Monday at nine of the clock, I will be ready to wait upon you.'

42.

'The humble Petition and Advice.' Speech to the Committee, Monday, April 13, 1657.

'My Lord,

I think I have a very hard task upon my hand. Though it be but to give an account of myself, yet I see I am beset on all hand here. I say, but to give an account of myself, but it is in a business that is, in a business that is very comprehensive of others, in some sense to us, and, as the Parliament have been pleased to make it, of all the interests of these three nations.

I confess I consider two things. First, to return some very weak answer to the things that were so ably and well said the other day on behalf of the Parliament's putting the title in the Instrument of Settlement. I hope it will not be expected that I

should answer to everything that was then said, because I suppose the main things that were spoken were arguments from ancient constitutions and settlements by the laws, of which I am sure I could never well skill¹, and therefore must ask the more pardon in what I have transgressed in my practice, or shall now transgress through my ignorance of them in my answer to you. Your arguments I say, which were chiefly founded upon the law, seem to carry with them a great deal of necessary conclusion to enforce that one thing of Kingship; and if the argument come upon me to enforce upon the ground of necessity, why then I have no room to answer, for what must be, must be. And therefore I did reckon it much of my business to consider, whether there was such a necessity, or would arise such a necessity from those arguments.

It was said, that Kingship was not a title but an office, so interwoven with the fundamental laws of this nation, as if they could not, or well could not, be executed and exercised without it: partly, if I may say so, upon a supposed ignorance of the law that it hath of any other title; it knows no other, neither does any other know it, the reciprocation is such. This title or name, or office as you pleased to say, is understood in the dimensions of it, in the powers and prerogatives of it, which are by the law made certain. And the law can tell when it keeps within compass, and when it exceeds its limits. And the

¹ *Monarchy Asserted*, 'be well skilled.'

law knowing this, the people can know it also, and the people do love what they know : and it will be neither *pro salute populi*, nor for safety, to obtrude upon them names that they do not nor cannot understand. It is said also, that the people have been always, by their representatives in Parliament, unwilling to vary names ; forasmuch as hath been said before, they love settlement. And there were two good instances given of that. The one, in King James his time, about his desire to alter somewhat of the title ; and another, in the Long Parliament, wherein they being otherwise rationally moved to admit of the word "Representative" instead of "Parliament," they refused it for the same reason. It hath been said also, that the holding to this word ¹ doth strengthen the settlement, because it doth not do anything *de novo* but resolves things into their old current. It is said, it is the security of the chief magistrate, and that it secures all that act under him. Truly these are the principal grounds that were offered the last day, so far as I do recollect.

I cannot take upon me to refel those grounds, for they are strong and rational, but if I shall be able to make any answer unto them, I must not grant that they are necessarily concluding, but take them only as arguments that have perhaps much of conveniency and probability towards concluding. For if a remedy or expedient may be found, then they are not necessary, they are not inevitable grounds. And if not

¹ King.

necessary and concluding, why then, they will hang upon the reason of expediency or conveniency: and if so, I shall have a little liberty to speak, otherwise I am concluded before I speak. And therefore it will behove me to say what [reasons] I have why they are not, why they are not absolute and necessary conclusions, nor that they are,—nor that it is, I should say,—so interwoven in the laws, but that the laws may not possibly be administered and executed to equal justice and equal satisfaction of the people, and equally to answer all objections, as well without it, as with it. And then, when I have done that, I shall only take the liberty to say a word or two for my own grounds, and when I have said what I can say as to that, I hope you will think a great deal more than I say.

Truly though Kingship be not a title, but a name of office that runs through the law, yet it is not so *ratione nominis*, from the reason of the name, but from what is signified. It is a name of office plainly implying the supreme authority; it is no more, nor can it be stretched to more. I say it is a name of office plainly implying the supreme authority, and if it be so, why then I would suppose,—I am not peremptory in anything that is a matter of deduction and inference of my own,—why then I would suppose, whatsoever hath been or shall be the name in which the supreme authority shall act, why I say, if it had been these four or five letters, or whatsoever else it had been, that signification goes to the thing

[signified], and not the thing to the name ; certainly it does, and not [the thing to] the name. Why then there can be no more said but this. Why, this hath been said, This hath been the name fixed, under which the supreme authority has been known. Happily as it hath been fixed, so it may be unfixed. And certainly [if fixed] in the right of authority, I mean as a legislative power, in the right of a legislative power, I think the authority that could christen it with such a name could have called it by another name. And therefore [if] it was but derived from [that] ¹, and certainly they had the disposal of it and might have had it, they might have detracted or changed. And I hope it will be [no] ¹ offence to you to say, as the case now stands, so may you. And if it be so that you may, why then, I say there is nothing of necessity in the argument, but consideration of [the expedience of] ² it. I had rather if I were to choose, if it were the natural question, which I hope is altogether out of the question, but I had rather have any name from this Parliament, than any name without it ; so much do I think of the authority of Parliament. And I believe all men are of my mind in that ³, I think the nation is very much of that mind ; though that be an uncertain way of arguing, what mind they are of. I think we may say that without offence, for I would give none, though the Parliament be the

¹ *Monarchy Asserted.*

² *Ibid.*, 'consideration of expedience of it.'

³ Or read 'mind, in that I think.'

truest way to know what the mind of the nation is. Yet, if the Parliament will be pleased to give me a liberty to reason for myself, and that that be made one argument¹, I hope I may urge against that, else I cannot freely give a reason for my own mind. But I say undoubtedly, let us think what we will, what the Parliament settles is that which will run through the law, and will lead the thread of government through the [land]², as well as what has been; considering that what hath been, hath been but upon the same account, save that there has been some long continuance of the thing. It is but upon the same account; it had its original somewhere, and it was in consent, in consent of the whole, there was the original of it. And consent of the whole will I say be the needle that will lead the thread through all, and I think no man will pretend right against [it]³ or wrong. And if so, then, under favour to me, I think all these arguments from the law are, as I said before, not necessary, but are to be understood upon the account of conveniency. It is in your power to dispose and settle [as]⁴ before, [and] we can have confidence that what you do settle will be as authentic as those things that were before, especially as to this individual thing, the name or title upon Parliamentary account, upon Parliamentary authority. Why then, I say, there will be way made, with leave, for

¹ *That they do know the mind of the nation, and so order him to become King.*

² *Monarchy Asserted; 'law' in text.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *'and' in text.*

me to offer a reason or two to all that has elsewhere been said: otherwise I say my mouth is stopt.

There are many enforcements to carry on this thing¹. I supposing it will stand upon a way of expediency and fitness, truly I should have urged one consideration more that I had forgotten; and that is, not only to urge from reason but from experience. Perhaps it is a short one, but it is a true one, under favour, [and is known to you all in the fact of it]², although there has been no Parliamentary declaration. That the supreme authority going in another name and under [another]³ title than King, why it has been complied with twice without it: that is, under the *Custodes Libertatum Angliæ*, and it has since I exercised the place. And truly I may say that almost universal obedience has been given from all ranks and sort of men to both.

And to begin with the highest degree of majesty [the Law]. At the first alteration, and when that⁴ was the name, though it was the name of [an]⁵ invisible thing, yet the very name, [though a new name]⁵, was obeyed, did pass for current and was received, and did carry on the justice of the nation. I do very well remember that [my]⁶ Lords the Judges were somewhat startled, and yet upon consideration, if I mistake not, I believe so,—there being of them

¹ *The Protectorship.* Cromwell now shews that this title, in the right of their authority, has been generally obeyed. See Notes.

² *Monarchy Asserted*, where 'under favour' is repeated twice.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ '*Custodes Libertatum Angliæ.*'

⁵ *Monarchy Asserted.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 'the' in text.

without reflection as able and as learned as have sat there,—though they did I confess at first demur a little, yet they did receive satisfaction and did act as I said before. I profess it, for my own part I think I may say it, since the beginning of that change, I would be loth to speak anything vainly, but since the beginning of that change unto this day I do not think that in so many years, [in] those that were called, and worthily so accounted, halcyon days of peace, in Queen Elizabeth's, and King James', and Charles' time, I do not think but that the laws did proceed with as much freedom and justice, with less private solicitation, either from that [time] that was called then so, or since I came to the government. I do not think under favour that the laws have had a more free exercise, uninterrupted by any hand of power, the judges less solicited by letters or private interpositions either of my own or other men's, in double so many years, in all those times of peace.

And if more of my Lords the Judges were here, than now are, they could tell what to say to what has been done since. And therefore I say, under favour, these two experiences do manifestly shew, that it is not a title, though so interwoven with the laws, that makes the law to have its free passage and do its office without interruption as we think, but that if a Parliament shall determine that another name shall run through the laws, I believe it may run with as free a passage as this; which is all that I have to say upon that head. And if this be so, then truly other

things may fall under a more indifferent consideration, and then I shall arrive at some issue to answer for myself in this great matter.

And all this while nothing that I shall say does anyway determine anything against any resolution or thoughts of the Parliament. But really and honestly and plainly considering what is fit for me to answer; the Parliament desires me to have this title, it hath stuck with me, and doth yet stick. And truly although I hinted the other day that I thought that your arguments to me did partly give positive grounds for what was to be done, and comparative grounds,—saying that which you were pleased to do, and I gave no cause for that I know of,—that is, to compare the effects of Kingship with such a name as I for the present bear with Protectorship, I say, I hope it will not be understood that I contend for the name, or any name, or anything. But truly and plainly, if I speak as in the Lord's presence, I in all things wait as a person under the disposition of the providence of God, neither naming one thing nor another, but only answering to this name or title. For I hope I do not desire to give a rule to anybody, because I have not professed, I have not professed, I have not been able, and I have said truly, I have not been able to give one to myself. But I would be understood in this. I am a man standing in the place I am in, which place I undertook not so much out of the hope of doing any good, as out of a desire to prevent mischief and evil, which I did see was imminent upon the nation.

I saw we were running headlong into confusion and disorder, and would necessarily run into blood, and I was passive to those that desired me to undertake the place that now I have. I say, not so much out of the hope of doing good, [for] which a man may lawfully,—if he deal deliberately with God and his own conscience,—a man may lawfully, as the case may be, though the case is very fickle, desire a great place to do good.' But I profess I had not that apprehension when I undertook this place, that I could do much good ; but I did think I might prevent imminent evil. And therefore I am not contending with one name compared with another, and therefore have nothing to answer to any arguments that were used in giving preference to Kingship or Protectorship. For I should almost think that any name were better than my name, and I should altogether think any person fitter than¹ I am for any such business, and I compliment not, God knows it. But this I would say, that I think from my very heart that in your settling of the peace and liberties of this nation, which cries as loud upon you as ever nation did, [you should labour] for somewhat that may beget a consistency, otherwise this nation will fall to pieces. And in that, as far as I can, I am ready to serve not as a King, but as a constable. For truly I have as before God thought it often, that I could not tell what my business was, nor what I was in the place I stood, save [by] comparing it with a good constable to keep the peace

¹ ' *than the I am* ' in text.

of the parish. And truly this has been my content and satisfaction in the troubles that I have undergone, that yet you have peace. Why now truly, if I may advise, I wish to God you may be but so happy as to keep peace still, if you cannot, attain to those perfections as to do this. I wish to God we may have peace though: I do. But the fruits of righteousness are sown in meekness, a better thing than we are aware of. I say therefore,—I do judge for myself,—there is no such necessity of the thing, for other names may do as well. I judge for myself.

I must say a little,—I think I have somewhat of conscience to answer as to this matter,—why I cannot undertake this name. Why truly, truly I must go a little out of the way to come to my reasons, and you will be able to judge of them when I have told you them; and I shall deal seriously, [as before God]¹. If you do not all of you [know them], I am sure some of you do, and it behoves me to say, I know my calling from the first to this day. I was a person that from my first employment was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater, from my first being a captain of a troop of horse. And I did labour as well as I could to discharge my trust, and God blessed me as it pleased him. And I did truly and plainly,—and then in the way of a foolish simplicity, as it was judged by many great and wise men, and good men too,—desire to make use of my instruments to help in this work. And I will deal

¹ *Monarchy Asserted.*

plainly with you, I had a very worthy friend then, and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is grateful to you all, Mr. John Hampden. At my first going out to the engagement I saw these men were beaten, and at every hand, I did indeed. And I desired him too, that he would make some addition to my Lord of Essex's army [of]¹ some new regiments, and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men [in]¹ as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you, God knows I lie not. Your troopers, said I, are most of them old decayed serving men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows, and, said I, their troopers are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, persons of quality: do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour, courage and resolution in them? Truly I pressed him in this manner conscientiously, and truly I did tell him, You must get men of a spirit,—and take it not ill what I say, I know you will not,—of a spirit that is like to go as far as a gentleman will go, or else I am sure you will be beaten still. I told him so, I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion but an impracticable one. Truly I told him I could do somewhat in it. I did so. And truly I must needs say that to you, impute it to what you please, I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and

¹ *Monarchy Asserted.*

made some conscience of what they did. And from that day forward I must say to you they were never beaten; wherever they engaged the enemy they beat them continually.

And truly this is a matter of praise to God; and it has some instruction in it,—to own men that are religious and godly, and so many of them that are honestly and peaceably and quietly [disposed]¹ to live within government, and² will be subject to those gospel rules of obeying magistrates and living under authority. I reckon no godliness without this circle, but of this spirit. Let it pretend what it will, it is diabolical, it is devilish, it is from a diabolical spirit, from the height of Satan's wickedness. Why, truly I need not say more than to apply it thus. I will be bold to apply it thus to this purpose, because it is my all. I could say as all the world say, and run headily upon anything, [but] I must tender this unto you as a thing that sways with my conscience, or else I were a knave and a deceiver. I tell you there are such men in the nation that are godly, men of the same spirit, men that will not be beaten down with a carnal or worldly spirit while they keep their integrity. I deal plainly and faithfully with you, I cannot think that God would bless me in the undertaking of anything, that would justly and with cause grieve them. [That they will]³ be troubled without cause, I must be a slave if I should comply with any such humours.

¹ *Monarchy Asserted.*

² 'as' in *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, 'grieve them they that will be' in text.

I say, that [there] are honest men and faithful men and true to the great things of our government, to wit, the liberty of the people, giving them that that is due to them and protecting their interest. I think verily God will bless you for what you have done in that, and what you have a desire to do in that, and they that are truly honest will bless you for it. But if that I know, as indeed I do, that very generally good men do not swallow this title, though really it is no part of their goodness to be unwilling to submit to what a Parliament shall settle over them, yet I must say that it is my duty and my conscience to beg of you, that there may be no hard thing put upon them ¹, things I mean hard to them, that they cannot swallow. If the nation may as well be provided for without these things, by some of these things I have hinted unto you,—as according to my poor apprehension it may,—I think truly it will be no sin to ² you to seek their favour, as ³ it was to David in another case, no grief of heart to [yours] ⁴ that you have a tenderness, even possibly if it be [to] their weakness, to the weakness of those that have integrity and uprightness, and are not carried away with the hurries that I see some are, who think that their virtue lies in despising authority, opposing of it. I think you will be better able to root out of this nation that spirit and principle,—and it is as desirable as

¹ 'me,' *Monarchy Asserted*.

² 'in,' *Ibid*.

³ 'it will be to you as it was,' *Ibid*. See *1 Samuel xxv*.

⁴ *Monarchy Asserted*; 'you' in text and *Harleian MS*.

anything in the world,—by complying, indulging, and being patient unto the weaknesses [and infirmities]¹ of men that have been faithful, and have bled all along in this cause, and are faithful and will oppose all oppositions, I am confident of it, to the things that are fundamental² in your government, in your settlement for civil and gospel liberties. I confess, for it behoves me to deal plainly with you, I must confess I would say,—I hope I may be understood in this, for indeed I must be tender in what I say to such an audience as this is,—I say I would be understood, that in this argument I do not make a parallel between men of a different mind and the Parliament, which shall have their desires; I know there is no comparison, nor can it be urged upon me. That my words have the least colour that [way]³ may be because the Parliament seems to give liberty to me to say anything to you as that that is a tender of my humble reasons and judgements and opinions unto you⁴. And if I think they are such and will be such to them, and [that they] are faithful servants and will be so to the supreme authority and the legislative wherever it is, if I say I should not tell you, knowing their mind⁵ to be so, I should not be faithful, if I should not tell you so, to the end you may report it to the Parliament.

And truly I would say something for myself, for my own mind. I do profess it, I am not a man

¹ *Monarchy Asserted.*

² *Ibid.*, 'fundamentals.'

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 'to them.'

⁵ *Ibid.*, 'minds.'

scrupulous about words or names [or such things]¹, I am not: but as I have the Word of God, and I hope I shall ever have, for the rule of my conscience, for my information, so truly men that have been [led]¹ in the dark paths through the providence and dispensations of God. Why surely it is not to be objected to a man, for who can love to walk in the dark? But providence does oftentimes so dispose, and though a man may impute his own blindness and folly and blindness to providence sinfully, yet that must be at my peril. The case may be, that it is the providence of God that does lead men in darkness. I must needs say I have had a great deal of experience of providence, and though it is no rule without or against the Word, yet it is a very good exposition of the Word in many cases. Truly the providence of God has laid this title aside providentially. *De facto* it is laid as aside and this not by sudden humour or passion, but it has been the issue of a great deliberation as ever was in a nation; it has been the issue of ten or twelve years' civil war, wherein much blood has been shed. I will not dispute the justice of it when it was done, nor need I now tell you what my opinion is in the case if it were *de novo* to be done. But if it be at all disputable,—and that a man comes and finds that God in his severity has not only eradicated a whole family and thrust them out of the land for reasons best known to himself, [but]² has made the issue and close of it to be the very eradication of

¹ *Monarchy Asserted.*² 'and' in text.

a name or title, which *de facto* is [the case],—it was not done by me, nor by them that tendered me the government I now act in. It was done by the Long Parliament, that was it. And God has seemed providentially not only to strike at the family but at the name. And as I said before, *de facto* it is blotted out, it is a thing cast out by Act of Parliament, it's a thing has been kept out to this day. And as Jude saith in another case, speaking of abominable sins that should be in the later times¹, he doth likewise when he comes to exhort the saints tell them they should *hate even the garment spotted with the flesh*². I beseech you think not I bring it as an argument to prove anything, or to make any comparison, I have no such thoughts. God hath seemed to deal so. He hath not only dealt so with the persons and the family, but he hath blasted the title. And you know, when a man comes *a parte post* to reflect and to see that this [is]³ done and laid in the dust, I can make no conclusion but this,—they may have strong impressions upon such weak men as I am, and perhaps if there be any such, upon weaker men it will be stronger,—I would not seek to set up that that providence hath destroyed and laid in the dust, and I would not build Jericho again. And this is somewhat to me, and to my judgement and conscience: that it is truly. It is that which hath an awe upon my spirit.

¹ *Monarchy Asserted* reads 'latter.'

² *Jude* v. 23.

³ *Monarchy Asserted*.

And I must confess as times are, they are very fickle, very uncertain. Nay, God knows, you had need have a great deal of faith to strengthen you in your work, and all assistance. You had need to look at settlement. I would rather I were in my grave than hinder you in anything that may be for settlement, for the nation needs it and never needed it more. And therefore out of the love and honour I bear you,—which [I am for ever bound to do: whatever becomes of me]¹ I am for ever bound to acknowledge that you [have]¹ dealt most honourably and worthily with me, and lovingly, and have had respect for one that deserves nothing,—indeed out of the love and faithfulness I bear you, and out of the sense [I have]¹ of the difficulty of your work, I would not have you lose any help that might serve you, [that may stand in stead to you]², but would be a sacrifice that there might be, so long as God shall please to let the Parliament sit, [a harmony]¹, a better understanding and good understanding between all of you. And whatsoever any man thinks, it equally concerns one man as another to go on to a settlement: and where I meet any that are of another mind, indeed I could almost curse him in my heart. And therefore, to the end I might deal faithfully and freely, I would have you lose nothing that might stand you in stead this way. I would not that you

¹ *Monarchy Asserted.*

² *Ibid.* Possibly only a corrected reading of preceding sentence: see the same phrase shortly after.

should lose any servant or friend that may help on this work, or that if there should be any of an unmanly or womanish spirit they should be offended by that that signifies no more to me than as I have [told]¹ you, [that is]² I do not [think the thing necessary]²: I would not that you should lose a friend for it. If I could help you to many and multiply myself into many I would be to serve you in settlement, and therefore would not that any,—especially any of those that indeed perhaps are men, that do think themselves engaged to continue to you and to serve you,—should be anyway³ disobliged from you. The truth is I [did]⁴ make that my conclusion to you at [the]⁵ first, when I told you what method I would speak to you in. I may say that I cannot with conveniency to myself, nor good to this service that I wish so well to, speak out all my arguments in order to safety, and in order to tendency to an effectual carrying on of the work. I say I do not think it fit to urge all the thoughts I have in my mind as to that point of safety, but I pray to God Almighty, that he would direct you to do according to his will: [and]⁵ this is that poor account I am able to give you of myself in this thing.’

¹ *Monarchy Asserted*; ‘to be’ in text.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* ‘anyways.’

⁴ *Ibid.* ‘do’ in text.

⁵ *Ibid.*

43.

‘The humble Petition and Advice.’ Speech to the Committee, Monday, April 20, 1657.

‘My Lord,

I have, as well as I could, considered the arguments used by you the other day to enforce the conclusion that refers to the name and title, that was the subject-matter of the debates and conferences that have been between us.

I shall not now spend your time, nor mine own much, in repeating those arguments and in giving answers to them: indeed, I think they are but the same that they were formerly, only there were some additional enforcements of those arguments by new instances. I think truly, after the rate of [this] debate, I may spend your time, which I know is very precious: and unless I were a satisfied person¹, the time would spin out and be very unpracticable² spent; so it would. I only must say a word or two as to that I think was new.

[It was said³, that] what comes from the Parliament in the exercise of the legislative power, which this [present title of “Protector”] is,—I understand it to be an exercise of the legislative power, and the laws were always formerly passed this way⁴, and that of Bills was of a newer date, I understand that

¹ *i. e.* if I had not already made up my mind.

² ‘unprofitably,’ MS. *Adds. Ayscough*, 6125.

³ *Arguments of Lord Whitelocke and others. See Notes.*

⁴ By ‘Ordinance.’

I say,—but it is said, that [what] was, [what]¹ is done by the Parliament now, and simply hangs upon their legislative, seems to be a thing that is *ex dono*, and not *de jure*; not a thing that is of so good weight and so strong, as what refers from them to the law that is already in being². I confess there is some argument in that; that is there³. But if the strength⁴ will be as good without it, though it comes as a gift from you,—I mean as a thing that you provide for them, or else it will never come at them: so in a sense it comes from you. It is that that they otherwise come by, therefore in a sense it is *ex dono*. For [he]¹ that helps a man to what he cannot otherwise come by, he doth an act that is very near a gift. And you helping them to it, it is a kind of gift to them, otherwise they could not have it. But if you do it simply by your legislative power, the question is not what makes this [title of “Protector”] more firm,—whether the manner of the⁵ settling of it, or the manner of your doing it, it is always as great a labour⁶,—but yet the question lies in the acception⁷ of them who are concerned to yield obedience, and accept this. And therefore if [this title of “Protector” is] a thing that hath for its root and foundation but your legislative in an act of yours, if

¹ MS. Adds. Ayscough, 6125. ² As ‘Kingship’ does. See Notes.

³ ‘that there is,’ MS. Adds. Ayscough, 6125.

⁴ Strength of the Title of ‘Protector.’

⁵ ‘your,’ MS. Adds. Ayscough, 6125.

⁶ Refers to arguments of Lord Chief Justice Glynn. See Notes.

⁷ ‘acception,’ MS. Adds. Ayscough, 6125.

I may put a but to it, I do not do so, for I say it is [on] as good a foundation as that other title is: and if it be as well accepted, and that the other be less than truly it is, I should think [it] the better.

And then, all that [argument on behalf of the title of "Kingship,"] I say is founded¹ upon the law. I say all those arguments that are founded in the law are for it; because it hath been said it doth agree with the law, the law knows the office, the law knows the people know it, and the people are likelier to receive satisfaction that way. Those have been arguments that have been already, and truly I know nothing that I have to add to them. And therefore I say also², those arguments may stand as we found them, and left them already.

Only this I think truly, as it hath been said to me, I am a person that have done that, that never any that were actually Kings of England [did,]³ refused the Advice of [this]³ Parliament. I confess that runs to all, and that may be accounted a very great fault in me, and may arise up in judgement against me another time, if my case be not different from any man's that was in the chief command and government of these nations that ever was before. And truly I think it is. They [are men] that have been in, and owned to be⁴, in the right of the law, as inheritors coming to it by birthright; and [when] otherwise,

¹ 'And then all I say that is founded,' MS. Adds. Ayscough, 6125.

² 'all,' Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ 'to have been in,' Ibid.

[as] by the authority of Parliament¹, [they are men] who yet have had some previous pretence of title, or claim to it. I think, under favour, I deserve less blame than another doth, if I cannot so well comply with the title, and with the desires of Parliament in it, as others do. For they that are in would take it for an injury to be out of it². Truly these arguments are very strong to them, why they should not refuse that, that is intended to them by the Parliament.

But,—I have dealt plainly with you, and I have not complimented with you,—I have not desired, I have no title to the government of these nations, but what was taken up in a case of necessity, and temporary, to supply the present emergency. Without which we must needs,—I say we had been all after the rate of the printed book, and after the rate of those men that have been taken going into arms, if [the government] had not been taken [up by me]. It was as visible to me as the day, if I had not undertaken it. And so it being put upon me, I being then General, as I was General by Act of Parliament, [it] being [put] upon me to [take the] power in my hand, after the assembly of men that was called together had been dissolved,—really the thing would have issued itself in this book, for as I am informed the book knows an author, it³ was a leading principal

¹ 'or otherwise by the authority of Parliament, by the confirmation of Parliament,' MS. Adds. Ayscough, 6125.

² 'outed,' Ibid.

³ 'that,' Ibid.

person in that assembly,—when¹ now I say, I speak in the plainness and simplicity of my heart as before Almighty God, I did out of necessity undertake that, that no man I think would have undertaken but myself. It hath pleased God that I have been instrumental to keep the peace of the nation to this day, and to keep it under a title that some [say]² signifies but a keeping it to another's use. To a better use, that may improve it to a better use? And this I [may]³ say, I have not desired the continuance of my power or place, either under one title or [an]other³: that I have not. [And]³ I say it, if the wisdom of Parliament could find where to place things so as they might save this nation and the interests of it,—the interest of the people of God in the first place, of those Godly honest men, for such a character I reckon them by, and⁴ [of those who] live in the fear of God, and desire to hold forth the excellency [and virtue of a]³ Christian course⁵ in their life and conversation, for I reckon that also proceeds from faith [and love,]³,—looking to [their] duties towards Christians and to the humanity, to men as men, and to such liberties and interests, as the people of this nation are of, (and [I] look upon that duty as a standing truth of the Gospel, and who lives up to that, according to that, is a Godly man in my apprehension, and therefore I say,) if the wisdom of this Parliament, I speak not

¹ 'why,' MS. Adds. Ayscough, 6125.

² 'says' in text; 'say,' Ibid.

⁴ 'that,' Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁵ 'calling,' Ibid.

this vainly nor like a fool, but as to God, and if the wisdom of this Parliament should have found a way to settle the interests of this nation, upon the foundations of justice and truth and liberty to the people of God, and [to the] concernments of men as Englishmen, I would have lain down at their feet, or any body's feet else, that this might have run in such a current. And therefore I say, I have no pretensions to [these] things for myself, or to ask this or that, or to avoid this or that.

I know the censures of the world may quickly pass upon me, but I thank God I know not where to lay the weight, that is laid upon me. I mean the weight of reproach and contempt and scorn, that hath been cast upon me, [because] I have not offered you any name in competition with Kingship. I know the evil spirits of men may easily obtrude upon a man, that he would have a name that the law knows not, and that is boundless, and is that under which a man exercises more arbitrariness¹. I know there is nothing in that argument, and if it were in your thoughts [to limit my Title], or to do anything of that kind, aye whatsoever it was, it would bound it and limit it sufficiently. I wish it were come to that, that no favour should be shewed to me, but that the good of these nations might be consulted, as I am confident they will be by you in whatsoever you do. But I may say this in answer to that, that doth a little

¹ Probably refers to the arguments used by Lord Broghill and others. See Notes.

pinch upon me, and the more so when I am told it is my duty.

I think it can be no man's duty, nor obligation, but it is between God and himself, if he be conscious of his own infirmities, disabilities, and weaknesses, and that he is not able to encounter with [them], although he may have a little faith too for a little exercise. I say I do not know which way it can be imputed to me for a fault or laid upon me as a duty, except I meant to gripe at the government of the nations without a legal consent: which I say I have done in times past upon the principles of necessity. And I promise [you]¹, I shall think whatever is done without authority of Parliament in order to settlement, will neither be very honest, nor yet that that I understand. I think we have fought for the liberties of the nation, as well as for other interests.

You will pardon me that I speak these things in such a way as this is. I may be borne withal; because, I have not truly well borne the exercise that hath been upon me now, these three or four days²: I have not, I say. I have told you my thoughts and have laid them before you. You have been pleased to give me your grounds, and I have told you mine. And truly I do purposely refuse to mention those arguments [that] were used when you were last here, but rather tell you what since³ I tell you lies upon my heart out of the abundance of difficulty and

¹ *MS. Adds. Ayscough*, 6125.

² 'years,' *Ibid.*

³ 'what sence lies upon my heart, out . . .' *Ibid.*

trouble that lies upon me. And therefore, you having urged me, I mean, offered reasons to me, and urged them with such grounds as did occur to you,—and having told you the last time I met you that the satisfaction of them did not reach to me, so as wholly to convince my judgement of what was my duty,—I have thought rather to answer you with telling you my grief, and the trouble I am under. And truly my intentions and purposes they are honest to the nation, and shall be by the grace of God. And I cannot tell how upon collateral pretences to cut¹ towards things that will be destructive to the liberties of this nation. Any man may give me leave to die, and everybody may give me leave to be as a dead man, when God takes away the spirit and life and activity that is necessary for the carrying on such a work.

And therefore I do leave the former debates as they were, and [as]² we had them, letting you know that I have looked a little upon the Paper, the Instrument I would say, in the other parts of it. And considering that there are many particulars in the Instrument, some of the general, some of reference³, others specified, and all of weight, let the title be what it will, of weight to the concernment of the nations, I think I may desire that those may be such, as what[ever] they be applied to, either to one thing or another, they might be such as the people have no cause [to regret], as I am

¹ 'act,' MS. Adds. Ayscough, 6125.

² *Ibid.*

³ 'some of general reference,' *Ibid.*

confident your care and faithfulness needs neither a spur, nor any admonition¹ to that. I say, reading in your Order, by order of Parliament, for the Committee, that there are divers particulars that are, that if I do make any scruple of them I should have the freedom with this committee to cast my doubts, the truth of it is I have a Paper here in my hand, that doth contain divers things with relation to the Instrument, that I hope have a public aspect with them. Therefore I cannot presume but they will be very welcome to you: therefore I shall desire that you will read² them. I should desire, if it please you, that liberty,—which I submit to your judgement whether you think I have it³ or no,—that I might tender these few things and some others that I have in preparation [to-morrow in the afternoon]⁴. And truly I shall reduce them to as much brevity as I can: they are too large here. And if it please you, to-morrow⁵ in the afternoon at three of the clock I shall meet you again, and I hope we shall come to know one another's minds, and shall agree to that that shall be to the glory of God, and the good of these nations.'

¹ 'intimation,' MS. Add. Ayscough, 6125.

² 'receive,' Ibid.

³ 'whether you think fit I should have it, or no,' Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ 'that tomorrow . . . , I hope,' Ibid.

44.

‘The humble Petition and Advice.’ Speech to the Committee, Tuesday, April 21, 1657.

‘My Lord,

I think you very¹ well remember what the issue was of the last conference I had with you, and what the stick was then. I confess I took occasion from the Order of the Parliament, in which they gave you power to speak with me about those things that were in the body of that Instrument and desire. [That] which you have been pleased to speak with me about [is the title, but I did offer to you] that I might confer with you about those [other] particulars, and might receive satisfaction from you as to them. Whether a good issue will be to all these affairs or no is only in the hands of God ; that is a great secret, and secrets belong to God and things revealed to us. And such things [as] are the subject-matter of this Instrument of yours, and as far as they may have relation to me, that you and I may consider, what may be for [the]² public good, that so they may receive such an impression as can humanly be given to them.

I would be well understood, that I say the former debate and conferences have been upon the title, and that rests as it did. And now seeing that, as I said before, your Order of Commitment doth as well reach

¹ ‘may,’ *Monarchy Asserted*.

² *Ibid*.

to the particulars contained in the Instrument as to that of the title, I did offer to you that I should desire to speak with you about them also, that so we may come to an understanding of one another¹, not what the thing is in parts, but what it is in the whole conduceable to that end that we all ought to aim at, which is a general settlement upon good foundations. And truly as I have [often]² said even to the Parliament itself, when it gave me the honour to meet me in the Banqueting-House, so I must say to you that are a Committee, a very considerable representation of them, that I am hugely taken with the word settlement, with the thing and with the notion³ of it. I think he is not worthy to live in England that is not⁴. I will do my part so far as I am able to expel that man out of the nation, that doth not affect⁵ of that in the general, to come to a settlement. Because indeed it is the great misery and unhappiness of a nation to be without it; and it is like a house, and much worse than a house divided against itself, it cannot stand without settlement. And therefore I hope we are all so far at a good point, and the spirit of the nation, I hope in the generality of it, is so far at a good point. We are all contending for a settlement, that is sure, but the question is *de modo* and of those things that will make it a good one, if it be⁶ possible. That is no fault to aim at

¹ 'one with another,' *Monarchy Asserted*.

² *Ibid*.

³ 'motion' in text.

⁴ 'that is not, no,' *Monarchy Asserted*.

⁵ 'approve,' *Ibid*.

⁶ 'were,' *Ibid*.

perfection in settlement. Truly I have said, and I say it again, that I think that is it that tends to the making of the nation to enjoy the things we have declared for,—and I would come upon that issue with all men or any man,—the things we have declared for, that have been the ground of our quarrelling and fighting all along, is that that will accomplish our general work. Settlement is the general work now, that which will give the nation to enjoy their civil and religious liberties, that will conserve the liberty of every man and not rob any man of what is justly his. I think, I hope [those two]¹ things make up settlement. I am sure they acquit us before God and man, who have endeavoured, as we have done, through some strivings² of blood to attain that end.

If I may tell you my experiences in this business and offend no good man that loves the public before that which is personal, truly I shall briefly a little³ recapitulate to you what my observation, and endeavour, and interest, hath been to this end. And I hope no man, that hath been interested in transactions all along, will blame me if I speak a little plainly; and he shall have no cause to blame me, because I will take myself into the number of culpable persons, if there be any such, though perhaps apt enough out of [the]⁴ self-love [I have]⁴ to be [willing to be]⁴ innocent where I am so, and yet to be [as]⁴ willing to take my reproach if anybody will lay

¹ *Monarchy Asserted.*

² ‘*streamings,*’ *Ibid.*

³ ‘*a little shortly,*’ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

it upon me where I am culpable. And truly I have through the providence of God endeavoured to discharge a poor duty, having had, as I conceive, a clear call to the station I have acted in, in¹ all these affairs; and I believe very many are sufficiently satisfied in that. I shall not go about to say anything to make that out clear to you², but must exercise myself in a little short chronology to come to that, that I say is really all our business at this time, and the business of this nation.

To come upon clear grounds and to consider the providences of God, how they have led us hitherto³. After it pleased God to put an end to the war of this nation,—a final end which was done at Worcester, in the determination and decision⁴ that was there by the hand of God, for other war we have had none, that perhaps deserves the name of war since that time, which is now six years,—I came in September up to the Parliament that then was, and truly I found the Parliament, as I thought, very well disposed to put a good issue to all these transactions that had been in the nation, and I rejoiced at it. And though I had not been well skilled in Parliamentary affairs, having been near ten years in the field, yet in my poor measure my desires did tend to some issue, believing verily that all the blood that had been shed and all that distemper that God had suffered to be amongst us, and in some sense God hath raised among us, that

¹ 'through,' *Monarchy Asserted*.

³ 'hitherunto,' *Ibid*.

² 'to clear it to you,' *Ibid*.

⁴ 'decession,' *Ibid*.

surely fighting was not the end but the means that had an end, and was in order to somewhat. Truly it was then I thought upon settlement, that is that men might come to some consistency, and to that end I did endeavour to add my mite, which was no more than the interest of any one Member, I am sure not of [better] right than any one Member that was there, after I was returned again to that capacity. And I did,—I shall tell you no fable, but the things that diverse persons here can tell, whether I say true or no,—I did endeavour it. I would make the best interpretation of this, but yet this is truth and nothing of discovery on my part, but that which everybody knows to be true, that the Parliament having [done]¹ these memorable things that they had done, things of honour and things of necessity, [things]² that if at this day you have any judgement that there lies a possibility upon you to do any good, to bring this nation to any sort³ of settlement, I may say you are all along beholding to them in good measure [for]. But yet truly as men that contend for public interest are not like to have the applause of all men, nor justification from all hands, so it was with them. And truly when they had made preparation that might lead to the issuing in some good for the settlement of these nations in point of liberty and freedom from tyranny and oppression, from the hazard of our religion by one⁴ that designed by inno-

¹ 'doe' in text.

² *Monarchy Asserted.*

³ 'foot,' *Ibid.*

⁴ 'religion to throw it away upon men that designed,' *Ibid.*

vations to introduce Popery and by complying with some notions introduce arbitrariness upon a civil account, why they had more enemies than friends. They had so all along, and this made them careful out of principles of Nature, that do sometimes suggest best. And upon the utmost undeniable grounds they did think that it was not fit for them presently to go and throw themselves and all this cause into hands, that perhaps had no heart nor principle with them to accomplish the end that they aimed at. I say perhaps through infirmity they did desire to have continued themselves and to have perpetuated themselves upon that Act, which was perhaps justly enough obtained and necessarily enough obtained when they got it from the King; [and] though truly it was good in the first obtaining of it, yet it was by most men, who had ventured their lives in this cause, judged not fit to be perpetuated, but rather [as]¹ a thing that was to have an end when it had finished its course; which was certainly the true way of it, in subserviency to the bringing in that which might be a good and honest settlement to the nation. I must say to you, I found them very willing to perpetuate themselves. And truly this is not a thing of reflection upon all, for perhaps some were not so. I can say so [of some]² of them; the sober men that I had converse with, they would not have had it perpetual, but the major part I think over-ruled in that they would have continued. This is true that I say to you, I was

¹ *Monarchy Asserted.*

² *Ibid.*; 'of them of them' in text.

entreated to it and advised to it, and it was by this medium [they thought] to have accomplished it, that is to have sent into the country to have reinforced their number, and by new elections to have filled them up. And this excuse it had, it would not be against the liberty of the people, nor against the succession of men to come into rule and government, because as men died out of the House so they should be supplied. And this was the best answer that could be given to that objection that was then made, that the best way to govern is¹ to have men successive and in such great bodies as Parliaments, to have men to learn [to know]² how to obey as well as to govern. And truly the best expedient that we then had was this that I tell you. The truth of it is, this [answer of theirs] did not satisfy a company of poor men that [had thought they]² had ventured³ their lives, and had some thoughts that they had a little interest to inquire after the things, and the rather because really they were invited [out upon]⁴ principles of honesty, conscience, and religion, for spiritual liberties as many as would come. Where the cause was a little doubtful, there was a Declaration that was very inviting, and men did come in upon that invitation, and did thereby think themselves not to be mercenary [men]², but men that had wives and children in the nation and therefore might a little

¹ 'is not to . . . but to have men to,' *Monarchy Asserted*.

² *Ibid.*

³ 'returned,' *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* ; 'only by' in text.

look after satisfaction in what would be the issue of the business.

And when this thing was thus pressed, and it may be overpressed, that a period might be put, and that that might be ascertain[e][d]¹ and a time fixed, why truly then the extremity [ran]² another way. This is very true that I tell you, though it shame me. I do not say it shames all that were of the House, for I know all were not of that mind. Why truly when this was urged, then another extremity arose³. What was that? Why truly then it was, seeing a Parliament might not be perpetual, the Parliament might be always sitting; and to that end was there a Bill framed, that Parliaments might always be sitting, that as soon as one Parliament went out of their place, another might leap in. And when we saw this, truly we thought we did but make a change in pretence and did not remedy the thing. And then when that⁴ was pursued with that great heat, [that]⁵ I dare say there was more progress made in it in a month, than was with the like business in four, to hasten it to an issue that such a Parliament might be brought in as⁶ would bring the state of this nation into a continual sitting of Parliaments, we did think, who are plain men, and I do think it still, that it had been according to the foolish proverb, out of the frying-pan into the fire. For looking at the govern-

¹ *Monarchy Asserted.*

² *Ibid.*; 'run' in text.

³ 'they ran into another extremity,' *Ibid.*

⁴ 'And thereupon that,' *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ 'and seeing this,' *Ibid.*

ment [they would then have, it was a Commonwealth's government.]¹ why, we should have had fine work then, we should have had a Council of State and a Parliament of four hundred men executing arbitrary government without intermission, saving of one company, one Parliament, leaping² into the seat of another while they left them warm. The same day that one left, the other was to leap in. Truly I did think, and I do think [this a foolish remedy,]¹ however some are very much enamoured with that kind of government. Why [this design of theirs]¹, it was no more but this, that Committees of Parliament should take upon them, and be instead of, the Courts of Westminster,—perhaps some will think there had been no hurt in that,—and arbitrariness would have been in Committees, where a man can neither come to prove nor defend, nor know his judges, because there are one sort of men that judge him to-day and another sort of men to-morrow. This should have been the Law of England; this should have been the way of judging this nation. And truly I thought that that was an ill way of judging, for I may say to you with truth to that, after it pleased God your poor army, these poor contemptible men, came up hither, it was so,—an outcry here in this place to see a cause heard, determined, and judged, and Committees erected to fetch men from the extremest parts of the nation to London to attend Committees, to determine all things and without any

¹ *Monarchy Asserted.*

² 'stepping,' *Ibid.*

manner of satisfaction. Whether a man's cause be¹ never so right or wrong, he must come and he must go back again as wise as he came.

This truly was the cause² and our condition, and truly I must needs say, [take all in that was in the practices,]³ I am sorry to tell the story of it, though there was indeed some necessity of the business, a necessity of some Committees to look to indemnity, but no necessity of Committees instead of Court[s] of Justice. But it was so, and this was the case of the people of England at that time. And the⁴ Parliament assuming to itself the authority of the Three [Estates]⁵ that were before,—it was so [assuming that authority,]³—and if any man would have come and said, What are the rules you judge by? [the answer would have been,]³ Why! we have none, but we are supreme in Legislative and in Judicature! This was the state of the case, and I thought, and we thought, and I think so still, that this was a pitiful remedy, and it will be so when and while⁶ the Legislative is perpetually exercised, when the Legislative and Executive powers are always the same. And truly I think the Legislative would be almost as well in the four Courts of Westminster-Hall, and if they could make laws and judge⁷ too, you would have excellent laws, and the lawyers would be able to give you excellent counsel. And so it was then ;

¹ 'a man travel never,' *Monarchy Asserted*.

² 'case,' *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ 'and that the,' *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* ; 'states' in text.

⁶ 'while and whensoever a,' *Ibid.*

⁷ 'judges,' *Ibid.*

this was our condition without scruple and doubt, and I shall say no more to it. But truly it was offered then, truly and honestly, and [we]¹ desired and begged that we might have a settlement, [and] that that now is here, that is there proposed a settlement. It was desired then, it was offered and desired, that the Parliament would be pleased, either of their own number or any else, to choose [a] certain number of men to settle the nation. This [method of theirs] is unsettlement; this is confusion. For give me leave, if anybody now have the face to say, and I would die upon this, if any man in England have the impudence or the face to say, that the exceptions of the Parliament was the fear of their* hasty throwing of the liberties of the people of God and the nation into a bare representative of the people,—which was then the business we opposed,—if any man have that face to say it now that did then, or I will say more, ought then to judge it had been a confounding of the whole cause we had fought for, which [it] was, I would look upon that man's face, I would be glad to see such a man. I do not say there is any such here, but if any such should come to me, see if I would not look upon him and tell him he is an hypocrite. I dare say it, and I dare to die for it, knowing the spirit that hath been in some men to me. They come and tell me, they do not like my being Protector! Why do you not? Why? Because you will exercise arbitrary government. Why, what would you have me do?

¹ 'and we did desire and beg,' *Monarchy Asserted*.

Pray turn General again, and we will like you exceeding well? I was a child in its swaddling clothes¹. I cannot transgress by the government. I can do nothing but in ordination with the Council. They fear arbitrary government by me upon that account; but if it turned to be a General, they were not afraid of arbitrary government? Such [as these are, such]² hypocrisies as these are, should they enter into the heart of any man that hath any truth or honesty in him?

And truly that is our case, and finding our case to be thus, we did press the Parliament, as I told you, that they would be pleased to select some worthy persons that had loved this cause and the liberties of England and the interests of it, and we told them we would acquiesce and lie at their feet. But to be thrown into Parliaments that should sit perpetually, though but for three years, they had had too much experience of it; the experience of which may remain to this day to give satisfaction to honest and sober men. Why truly we thought it³ might satisfy, but it did not, and thereupon we did think that it was the greatest of dangers to be overwhelmed and brought under a slavery by our own consent, [and]⁴ iniquity to become a law; and there was our ground we acted [upon]⁴ at that time. And truly they had perfected the Bill for [the]⁴ perpetuating of Parliaments to the

¹ 'clouts,' *Monarchy Asserted*.

² *Ibid.*

³ 'we did think it,' *Ibid.*; 'it' refers to the proposal of the Army.

⁴ *Ibid.*

last clause, and were resolved to pass it as a Bill *in paper* rather than comply with any expedient. If your own experience add anything to you in this, in this point, whether or no in cases civil and criminal, if a Parliament should assume an absolute power without any control, to determine the interests of men in property and liberty, whether or no this be desirable in [a] nation, if you have any sense, as I believe you have, yea more¹ than I have, I believe you will take it for a mercy that that did not befall England at that time; and that is all I will say of it.

Truly I will now come and tell you a story of my own weakness and folly, and yet it was done in my simplicity, I dare vow it was thought², and some of my companions [did urge it upon me.] And truly this is a story that would not be recorded, a story that would not be told but when good use may be made of it. I say it was thought [then]³, that men of our judgement, that had fought in the wars and were all of a piece upon that account, why surely these men will hit it, and these men will do to the purpose whatsoever can be desired! Truly we did think, and I did think so; the more to blame⁴. And such a company of men were chosen and did proceed into action. And truly this was the naked truth, that the issue was not answerable to the simplicity and

¹ 'you have more,' *Monarchy Asserted*.

² Sentence obviously incomplete.

³ *Monarchy Asserted*.

⁴ 'blame of,' *Ibid*.

honesty of the design. What the issue of that meeting would have been, and was feared, [you all know]¹; upon which sober men of that meeting did withdraw and came and returned my power as far as they could, they did actually the greater part of them, into my own hands, professing and believing that the issue of that meeting would have been the subversion of the laws and of all the liberties of this nation, the destruction of the Ministry of this nation, in a word the confusion of all things and [instead of order]¹ to set up the judicial law of Moses in abrogation of all our administrations, to have been administered the judicial law of Moses, *pro hic et nunc*, according to the wisdom of any man that would have interpreted the text this way or that way. And if you do not believe that they were sent home by the major part, who were judicious and sober, and feared² the worst upon this account, and with my consent also, *a parte post* you will believe nothing. For the persons that led in the meeting were³ Mr. Feak and his meeting in Blackfriars, Major-General Harrison and those that associated with him at one Mr. Squibb's house; and there were all the resolutions taken that were acted in that House day by day; and this was so *de facto*, I know [it]⁴ to be true. And that this must be the product of it, I do but appeal to that book I told you of the other day, that all Magistracy and Ministry is Antichristian, and therefore all [these]¹ things ought

¹ *Monarchy Asserted.*

² 'lead' and 'where' in *Ibid.*

² 'learned,' *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid*; 'be to be' in text.

to be abolished; which we are certain must have been the issue of that meeting.

So that you have been delivered, if I think right, from two evils. The one evil a secular evil, that would have swallowed up all civil interest and put us under the most horrid arbitrariness that ever was exercised in the world, that we might have [had]¹ five hundred or six hundred friends, with their friends, to have had a judgement of all causes, and to have judged without a rule, thinking that the power that swallowed up all the other lawful powers in the nation, hath all the power that ever they had, both a Legislative and a Judiciary. This, I say, would have swallowed up the civil interest². And the other, merely under a spiritual interest, had swallowed up again [in another extreme]¹ all our religious interest, all our Ministry, and [all]¹ the things we are beholden to God for. Truly we think we ought to value this interest above all the interests in the world; but if this latter had not been as sure destroyed as the former, I understand nothing. And having told you these two things, truly I must needs say it makes me in love with this Paper and with all things in it, and with these additions that I have to tender to you, and with settlement above all things in the world, except that where I left you the last time; and for that I think we have debated. I have

¹ *Monarchy Asserted*

² 'I say, that which swallows both the civil and religious interest,' *Ibid.*, where the two evils are hopelessly confused.

heard your mind and you have heard mine. I have told you my heart and my judgement, and the Lord bring forth his own issue. I think we are not now to consider what we are on the foot of government which called this Parliament, which, till there be an end put to it, is that that hath existence. And I shall say nothing to that. If that¹ accomplisheth the end of our fighting and all these blessed and good ends that we should aim at, if it do, I would we might have that [and remain where we are; if it do not, I would we might have that]² which is better. Why³ truly I now come out of myself to tell you, that as [to]² the substance and body of your Instrument I do look [upon]² it as having things in it, if I may speak freely and plainly,—I may, and we all may,—I say the things that are provided for in this Instrument⁴ have the liberty of the people of God so as they have never had [it]², and he must be a pitiful man that thinks the people of God ever had that liberty, either *de facto* or *de jure*. That is to say, *de jure* from God I think they have had it from the beginning of the world to this day, and have it still; but asserted by a *jus humanum*, I say they never had it so, as they have it now. And I think you have provided for the liberty of the people of God and of the nation; and I say, he sings sweetly that sings a song of reconciliation betwixt these two interests, and it is a pitiful fancy, and wild and ignorant⁵, to

¹ *i. e.* the existing frame of government.

² *Monarchy Asserted.*

³ 'which,' *Ibid.* ⁴ 'Government,' *Ibid.* ⁵ 'wisdom and ignorance,' *Ibid.*

think they are inconsistent. They may consist, and I speak my conscience, I think in this government you have made them to consist, and therefore I must say in that and in other things, you have provided well; that you have. And because I see the Vote¹ of the Parliament gives you leave to speak with me about the particulars, I think the Parliament doth think that any Member they have is not to be neglected in offering of anything that may be of additional good, and upon that accompt I have a little surveyed the Instrument. I have a Paper here to offer you upon that account, and truly I must needs say and think, that in such a case as this is, in so new a work and so strange a work as this is that is before you, it will not be thought ill of. I do with a little earnestness press you to some explanations that may help to complete² and leave me satisfied; for it is only handled with me, this transaction is only handled with me at this time, [and] with you and the Parliament, whom you represent. I say, I would be glad that you might leave me and all opposers without excuse, as well as that I could wish that you should settle this nation to the uttermost good of it in all things. The things I have to offer to you, they are not very weighty, they may tend to the completion³ of the business, and therefore I shall take the freedom to read them to you.

In the fourth Article and second paragraph, you

¹ 'root,' *Monarchy Asserted*.

² 'contemplate,' *Ibid*.

³ 'complexion,' *Ibid*.

have something under that head that respects the calling of Members of Parliament. You would not exclude those that were under Duke Hamilton in that invasion because it hath been said to you perhaps, that if you exclude all those, you shall have no Members from Scotland. I hope there be persons of that nation that will be ready to give a better testimony of their country than to admit of that argument; and I hope it is none. But if it be one, then truly¹ upon that uncertainty of the qualifications you should indeed [not] exclude men of your own country perhaps upon lesser crimes, and hold them off upon stricter characters, [if] it is thought that that qualification [suffices], that saith that the testimony that they shall have [is] that they are men that have given good testimony in their peaceable and quiet living. Why truly for diverse years they have not been willing to do other; they have not had an easy possibility to do otherwise, to live unquietly; though perhaps [they] have been the same men many of them, [that have borne arms against us, and] though I know many of them are good men [and] worthy men. And therefore whether it be not fit in that place to explain somewhat else, and put some other character upon it, that may be accounted a good testimony of their being otherwise minded and of their being of another judgement. I confess I have not anything here to supply it with, but certainly if it should be so, as it is in your Article,

¹ 'then truly to meet with the least upon that certainty,' *Monarchy Asserted*.

though they be never so indisposed and enemies, and remain so, yet if they have lived peaceably where they could neither will nor choose, they are to be admitted. I only tell you so, being without any amendment for it, and when I have done I shall offer the whole to you. This is the second paragraph.

In the third paragraph of the same Article, whereas it is said that [no] persons in Ireland be made incapable to elect or be elected that, before the first of March, 1649, have borne arms for the Parliament [or]¹ otherwise given testimony of their good affections and continued faithful to the Parliament², whether it be not necessary that it be more clearly expressed, it seeming to capacitate all those who have revolted from the Parliament, if they have borne arms for the State before the first of March, 1649. It seems to restore them, but if since then they have revolted, as many of our English-Irish I doubt have done, why then the question is, whether these men, who have very lately been angry and fled to arms, whether you will think their having borne arms formerly on the Parliament's side should be an exemption to them. That is but tendered to you, that some worthy person here will give an answer unto.

In the fifth paragraph of the same Article, you have incapacitated public preachers from sitting in Parliament, and truly I think that your intention is,

¹ *Monarchy Asserted*; 'having not' in text.

² Text continues 'or are since revolted,' which may begin next sentence 'If they are since revolted, whether . . .'

that such as have a Pastoral function, such as are actually and really Ministers. For I must say to you in the behalf of our Army, in their next place to their fighting they have been very good preachers, and I should be sorry they should be excluded from serving the Commonwealth because they have been accustomed to preach to their troops, companies, and regiments, which I think have been one of the best blessings upon them to the carrying on of the great work. I think you do not mean so, but I tender it to you, that if you think fit there may be a consideration had of it. There may be some of us, it may be, that have been a little guilty of that, who would be loth to be excluded from sitting in Parliament.

In the same paragraph there is care taken for the nominating the Commissioners to try the Members which are chosen to sit in Parliament; and truly those Commissioners are uncertain persons and it is hard to say what may happen. I hope they will always be good men, but if they should be bad, then perhaps they will keep out good men. Besides we think truly, if you will give us leave to help, as to the freedom of Parliament it will be something that will go rather harshly down, rather than otherwise. Very many reasons might be given, but I do not¹ tender it to you. I think if there be no Commissioners, it would be never a whit the worse, but if you make qualifications, if any man will presume to sit without those qualifications, you may

¹ 'but,' *Monarchy Asserted*.

deal with them. A man without his qualifications sitting there, is as if he be not chosen ; and if he sit without being chosen, [and so without a qualification]¹, I am sure the old custom was to send him to the Tower, to imprison such a one, if any man sit there that have not right to sit there. If any stranger come in upon a pretended title of election, then perhaps it was a different case, if any sit there upon pretence of a qualification upon him, you may send him to prison without any more ado. Whether you think fit to do so or no, it is a Parliamentary business ; I do but hint it to you. I believe if any man had sat in former Parliaments, that had not taken the oaths prescribed, it would have been fault enough. I believe something of that kind would be equivalent to any other way, if not better.

In that Article, which I think is the fifth Article, which concerns the nomination of the other House, it is in the beginning of that Article, that the House is to be nominated, as you design it, [by his Highness] and the approbation is to be from this House, I would say [to be]¹ from the Parliament ; is it not so ? But then now, if any shall be subsequently named [by his Highness], after this House is sat, upon any accidental removal or death, you do not say. Though it seems to refer to the same [method] that [the paragraph as to] the first election doth, yet it doth not refer clearly to this, that the nomination shall be where it was, in the Chief Officer, and the approbation

¹ *Monarchy Asserted.*

in the other House. If I do not express it clearly, I hope you will pardon me, but I think that is the aim of it ; it is not clearly expressed there as I think. You will be able to judge whether it be or no.

In the seventh Article, that which concerns the revenue, that is the revenue that you have appointed to the government, you have distributed 300,000 pounds of it to the maintenance of the civil authority, [1,000,000]¹ pounds to be distributed to the maintenance of your forces by sea and land. You have indeed said it in your Instrument, and we cannot doubt of it, but yet you have not made it certain, nor yet of temporary supplies which are intended for the peace and safety of the nations. It is desired that you would take it into your thoughts, and make both those certain both as to the sum and time, that those supplies shall be continued. And truly I hope I do not curry favour with you, but it is desired, and I may very reasonably desire, that these monies, whatever they are, that they may not,—if God shall bring me to any interest in this business, which lieth in his own power,—that these monies may not be issued out by the authority of the Chief Magistrate, but by the advice of his Council ; seeing you have in your Instrument made a co-ordination in general terms, [I desire] that this might be a reserved thing, that the monies might not be distributed [save in this manner]. It will be a safety to whomsoever is your supreme Magistrate, as well as security to the public,

¹ *Monarchy Asserted ; 100,000 in text.*

that the monies might be issued out by the advice of the Council; and that the Treasurers that receive the money may be accountable every Parliament, within a certain time limited by yourselves, [that] every new Parliament the Treasurer may be accountable to the Parliament for the disposing of the treasure.

And there is mention made of the Judges in the ninth Article. It is mentioned that the Officers of State and the Judges are to be chosen by the approbation of the Parliament. If there be no Parliament sitting, if there be never so great loss of Judges, it cannot be supplied. And whether you do not intend, that it should be [by the choice]¹ [of the Chief Magistrate] with the consent of Council, in the intervals of Parliament, to be afterwards approved by Parliament.

The thirteenth Article relates to several qualifications that persons must be qualified with, that are put into places of public office and trust. Now if men shall step into public places and trust, that are not so qualified, they may not execute it; and an 'office of trust' is a very large word, it goeth almost to a constable; if not altogether, it goeth far. Now if any shall come that are not so qualified, they certainly do commit a breach upon your rule, and whether you will not think in this case, that if any shall take upon them an office of trust, that a penalty shall be put upon them. When² he is excepted by the general rule, whether you will not think it fit, in³ that

¹ *Monarchy Asserted.*

² 'where,' *Ibid.*

³ 'fitting that,' *Ibid.*

respect, to deter men from accepting of offices and places of trust contrary to that Article.

The next [thing I shall speak to] is fetched in I may say in some respects by head and shoulders in your Instrument, yet in some respects it hath affinity with it. I may say I think [it] is within your Order [to confer] upon this account; I am sure of it¹. There is a mention, in the last part of your Instrument, of your purpose to do many good things, I am confident not like the gentleman that made his last will and set down a great number of the names of men that should receive benefit by him, and there was no sum at the latter end. I am confident that you are resolved to deal effectually in the thing at the latter end, and I should wrong my own conscience², if I should think otherwise. I hope you will think sincerely as before God, that the laws must be regulated; I hope you will. We have been often talking of them, and I remember well, in the old Parliament, that we were more than three months and could not get over the word "incumbrances." And then we thought there was little hope of regulating the Law, when there was such a difficulty at³ that. But surely the laws need to be regulated? And I must needs say, I think it is a sacrifice acceptable to God upon many accounts, and I am persuaded it is one thing that God looks for and would have. I confess, if any man would ask me, Why, how would you have it done? I confess I do not know how. But I think verily at the least, the

¹ *Repeated in Monarchy Asserted.* ² 'confidence,' *Ibid.* ³ 'as,' *Ibid.*

delays in suits and the excessiveness in fees, and the costliness of suits, and those various things, that I do not know what names they bear,—I have heard talk of “demurrers” and such like things as I scarce know,—but I say certainly, that the people are greatly suffering in this respect; they are so. And truly if this whole business of settlement, whatsoever the issue of it shall be, [if] [it]¹ comes, as I am persuaded [that]¹ it doth, as a thing that would please God by a sacrifice in, or rather as an expression of our thankfulness to God, I am persuaded that this will be the one thing that will be upon your hearts, to do something that is honourable and effectual in it.

That truly, I say, that is not in your Instrument [is]² somewhat that relates to the reformation of manners. You will pardon me my fellow soldiers that were raised³ upon the just occasion of the insurrection, not only to secure the peace of the nation, but to see that persons, that were least likely to help on peace or continue it but rather to break it, [were careful of their behaviour], dissolute and loose persons that can go up and down from house to house; and they are gentlemen’s sons that have nothing to live on, and cannot be supposed to live to the profit of the Commonwealth. Which I think had a good course taken with them; and I think that which was done to them was honourably, and honestly, and profitably done. And for my own part, I must needs

¹ *Monarchy Asserted.*

² ‘in’ in text.

³ *Major-Generals.*

say it shewed the dissoluteness that was then in the nation; as indeed it springs most from that part of the Cavaliers, [it shewed what was like to happen] should that party run on, and no care be taken to reform the nation, to prevent abuses that will not perhaps fall under this consideration. We can send our children into France before they know God or good manners, and return with all the licentiousness of that nation; neither care taken to educate them before they go, nor to keep them in good order when they come home. Indeed this makes the nation, not only to commit those abominable things among us, inhuman things, but hardens men to justify those things, and, as the Apostle saith, not only to do wickedness themselves, but take pleasure in them that do so. And truly if something be not done in this kind, without sparing any condition of men, without sparing men's sons though they be noblemen's sons, let them be who they will, if debauched¹ it is for the glory of God that nothing of outward consideration should save them in their debauchery from a just punishment and reformation. And truly I must needs say it, I would as much bless God to see something done as to that heartily, upon this account, not only to those persons mentioned but to all the nation, that some course might be taken for reformation, that there might be some stop put to such a current of wickedness and evil as that is. And truly, to do it heartily, and nobly, and worthily, the nobility of

¹ 'deboist,' *Monarchy Asserted*.

this nation especially, and the gentry, will have cause to bless you. And likewise [I would] that some care might be taken, that those good laws already made for the punishing of vice may be effectually put in execution. This I must needs say for our Major-Generals that do you service, I think it was excellent good service, I profess I do. And I hope you will not think it unworthy of you [to consider] that, when you have seen that though you have good laws against the common country disorders that are everywhere, who is there to execute them? Really a Justice of Peace shall from the most be wondered at as an owl, if he go but one step out of the ordinary course of his fellow Justices in the reformation of these things. And therefore I hope I may represent that to you, as a thing worthy of your consideration, that something may be found out to suppress such things. I am persuaded you would glorify God in it, as much as any one thing you can do, I think so¹; you will pardon me.

I cannot tell in this Article, that I am now to speak unto, whether I speak to anything or nothing. There is a desire that the Public Revenue be not alienated, but by the consent of Parliament. I doubt Public Revenue is like *Custodes Libertatis Angliae*; that is a notion only, and not to be found that I know of. But if there be any, and God bless us in our settlement, there will be Public Revenue accruing, and whether you will subject this to any alienation

¹ 'and so I think,' *Monarchy Asserted*.

without the consent of Parliament, is that which is offered to you.

Truly [a]¹ thing that I have further to offer to you, it is last in this paper, and that is a thing that is mentioned in the sixteenth Article, that you would have those Acts and Ordinances that have been made since the late troubles, during the time of them, that they should, if they be not contrary to this Advice, remain in such force and manner, as if this Advice had not been given. Why that that is doubted is, whether or no this will be sufficient to keep things in a settled condition; because it is but an implication, it is not determined, but you do pass by the thing without such a determination² as will keep those people which are now in possession of estates upon this account, that their titles may be questioned and shaken if it be not explained. And truly I do believe you intended very fully in this business. If the words already do not suffice, that I submit to your own advisement, but there is in this a very great consideration. There have been since the government several Acts and Ordinances, that have been made by the exercise of that legislative power that was exercised since we undertook this government, and I think your Instrument speaks a little more faintly to these and dubiously than to the other. And truly I will not apologize for anything but surely two persons, two sorts of men, will be nearly concerned

¹ Text not clear; 'this' in *Monarchy Asserted*.

² 'foundation,' *Ibid*.

upon this account, that is, those who [have]¹ exercised [that power], and the persons who are the objects of that exercise. It dissettles them wholly, if you be not clear in your expressions in this business, [and] it will dissettle us very much to think that the Parliament doth not approve well of what hath been done upon a true ground of necessity, as far as it hath saved this nation from running into total arbitrariness, or [from being] subjected to any sort of men that would perhaps have lorded it too much over their brethren. We think we have in that thing deserved well of the State. If any man will ask me, But ah! sir, what have you done since? Why [ah! as]² I will confess my fault where I am guilty, so I think, taking the things as they were, I think we did the Commonwealth service! And we have in that made great settlements; that we have! We have settled almost the whole affairs of Ireland, the rights and interest of the soldiers there, and of the planters and adventurers. And truly we have settled very much of the business of the Ministry, and I could wish that that be not to some the *gravamen*³, I wish it be not. But I must needs say, if I have anything to rejoin⁴ before the Lord in this world as having done any good or service, I can say it from my heart, and I know I say the truth, that it hath been,—let any man say what he will to the contrary, he will give me leave to enjoy my own opinion in it, and conscience,

¹ 'are' in text.

² 'grave men,' *Ibid.*

² *Monarchy Asserted.*

⁴ 'rejoice,' *Ibid.*

and heart,—I dare bear my testimony to it, there hath not been such a service to England since the Christian religion was professed¹ in England. I dare be bold to say it, however here and there there may have been passion and mistakes. And the Ministers themselves, take the generality of them, they will tell you it is the Institution² [of Triers that hath done this]. And we did take [to] it upon that account, and we did not think to do that which we did *virtute Instituti*, as *jure divino*, but as a civil good; so we did in this thing. We know not better how to keep the Ministry good and to augment it to goodness, than to put such men to be Triers, men of known integrity and piety, orthodox men and faithful; we know not how better to answer our duty to God and the nation, and the people of God in that respect, than in doing what we did. And I dare say, if the grounds upon which we went will not justify us, the issue and event of it doth abundantly justify us; God having had exceeding glory by it, in the generality of it, I am confident fortyfold. For as heretofore the men that have been admitted into the Ministry in times of Episcopacy,—alas, what pitiful certificates served to make a man a Minister! If any man could understand Latin and Greek, it was as if he spake Welsh, he was sure to be admitted, which I think in those days went for Hebrew with a great many. But certainly the poorest thing in the world would serve the turn, and a man was admitted upon such an

¹ 'perfect,' *Monarchy Asserted*.

² 'besides the instructions,' *Ibid*.

account; aye, and [upon]¹ a less! I am sure the admission that hath been to those places since, hath been under this character as the rule, that they must not admit a man unless they be able to discern some of the grace of God in him; [a qualification] which was so put too, as [that] it was not foolishly or senselessly [enforced], but so far as men could judge according to the rules of charity; but such a man whose good life and conversation they could have a very good testimony of, four or five of the neighbour Ministers who knew him, [they would try,] nor would they admit him unless he could give a very good testimony of the grace of God in him. And to this I say, I must speak my conscience in it, [it was an excellent good thing], though a great many are angry at it². And how shall you please everybody? Then say some, none must be admitted except perhaps he will be baptized. This is their opinion, they will not admit a man into a congregation except he be so, much less to be a Minister. The Presbyterian, he will not admit him except he will be ordained. Generally they will not go to the Independents. Truly I think, if I may not be thought partial, I think if there be a freedom of judgement, it is there. Here are three sorts of godly men that you are to take care for, and that you [have]¹ provided for in your settlement; and how could you now put it to the Presbyterian, but you must have done it with a possibility of the exclusion of all those of

¹ *Monarchy Asserted.*

² *Ibid.* adds 'all are angry at it.'

Anabaptism, and of the Independents. And now we have put it into the way, that if a man be of any of these judgements, if he have the root of the matter in him, he may be admitted. This hath been our care and work by some Ordinances of ours, both laying the foundations of it, and many hundreds of Ministers being in upon it; and if this be a time of settlement, then I hope it is not a time of shaking. And therefore I hope you will be pleased to settle this business, that you will neither shake the persons that have been poorly instrumental to call you to this opportunity of settling this nation and doing good to it, nor shake those honest men's interests that have been thus settled, considering so much good hath been wrought by them. And so I have done with the offers to you.

But here is somewhat that is indeed exceedingly past my understanding, for I have as little skill in Arithmetic as I have in the Law. There are great sums; it is well if I can count them to you. The present charge of the forces both by sea and land, including the government, will be 2,426,989 pounds. The whole present revenue in England, Scotland, and Ireland is 1,900,000 pounds; I think this was reckoned at the most, as now the revenue stands. Why now towards this, you settle by your Instrument 1,300,000 pounds for the government, and upon that account to maintain the force by land and sea; and this without Land Tax, I think. And this is short of the revenue that now may be raised by the present government,

600,000 pounds. [I hope you will so far remedy this,] because you see [even now] the present government is 1,900,000 pounds, and the whole sum [which]¹ now may be raised comes short of the present charge, 542,689 pounds! And although an end should be put to the Spanish war, yet there will be a necessity for the preservation of the peace of the three nations, to keep up the present established Army in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and also a considerable fleet for some good time, until it shall please God to quiet and compose men's minds and bring the nation to some better consistency. So that considering the pay of the Army, coming to upwards [1,000,000]² pounds, and the government 300,000 pounds, it will be necessary that for some convenient time, seeing you find things as you do,—and it is not good to think a wound healed, before it be,—that there should be raised over and above 1,300,000 pounds, the sum of 600,000 pounds per annum, which makes up the sum of 1,900,000 pounds; and that likewise the Parliament declare how far they will carry on the Spanish war, and for what time, and what further sum they will raise for the carrying on the same, and for what time. And if these things be not ascertained, as one saith, money is the cause, certainly whatever the cause is, if money be wanting the business will fall to the ground and all our labours will be lost. And therefore I hope you will have an especial care of this

¹ *Monarchy Asserted.*

² 1,100,000 in text.

particular¹. And indeed having received such large expressions from you, we may believe, we need but offer these things to you, that these things will be cared for. And these things have all of them been made overture of to you and are before you, and so hath likewise the consideration of the debts, which truly I think are apparent.

And so I have done with what I have to offer to you, I think I have truly on my part, until I shall understand wherein it is in me² to do further, and when I shall understand your pleasure in these things a little further. We have answered the Order of Parliament in considering and debating of those things, that were the subject-matter of debate and consideration; and when you will be pleased to let me hear further of your thoughts in these things, then I suppose I shall be in a condition to discharge myself as God shall enable me. And I speak not this to evade, but I speak it in the fear and reverence of God, and I say plainly and clearly [I hope], when you shall have been pleased among yourselves to take consideration of these things, that I may hear what your thoughts are of them. I do not say it as a condition to anything, but I shall be very ready, freely, and honestly and plainly, to discharge myself of what in the whole, upon the whole, may reasonably be expected from me, as God shall set me free to answer you in.'

¹ 'a care of our undertakings,' *Monarchy Asserted*.

² 'where it own me,' *Ibid*.

45.

‘The humble Petition and Advice.’ Speech to the House of Commons in the Banqueting-House at Whitehall, Friday, May 8, 1657.

‘Mr. Speaker,

I come hither to answer that that was in your last Paper to your Committee you sent to me: which was in relation to the desires which were offered to me by the House, in that they called their Petition.

I confess, that business hath put the House, the Parliament, to a great deal of trouble, and spent much time. I am very sorry for that. It hath cost me some, and some thoughts: and because I have been the unhappy occasion of the expense of so much time, I shall spend little of it now.

I have, the best I can, resolved the whole business in my thoughts: and I have said so much already in testimony to the whole, that I think I shall not need to repeat anything that I have said. I think it is a government that¹, in the aims of it, seeks the settling the nation on a good foot, in relation to civil rights and liberties, which are the rights of the nation. And I hope I shall never be found to be one of them that go about to rob the nation of those rights, but [shall ever be found] to serve them, what I can, to the attaining of them. It is also exceeding well provided there for the safety and security of

¹ Clarke MS., ‘I believe it is that which in the aim of it is for the settling of the nation upon a good foot.’

honest men, in that great, natural, and religious liberty, which is liberty of conscience¹. These are the great fundamentals: and I must bear my testimony to them,—as I have, and shall do so still, so long as God lets me live in this [world]²,—that the intentions [of]³ the things are very honourable and honest, and the product worthy of a Parliament.

I have only had the unhappiness,—both in my conferences with your Committees⁴, and in the best thoughts I could take to myself,—not to be convinced of the necessity of that thing, that hath been so often insisted on by you, to wit, the title of King, as in itself so necessary, as it seems to be apprehended by [yourselves]⁵. And yet I do, with all honour and respect to the judgement of a Parliament, testify that, *caeteris paribus*, no private judgement is to lie in the balance with the judgement of Parliament. But, in things that respect particular persons, every man that is to give an account to God of his actions, he must, in some measure, be able to prove his own work, and to have an approbation in⁶ his own conscience of that, that he is to do, or to forbear. And, whilst you are granting others liberties, surely you

¹ Clarke MS., 'provided for as to the safety and security of honest men in the liberty of their consciences.'

² 'word' in text.

³ 'and' in text. Clarke MS. reads 'your intentions the thing.' MS. Adds. Ayscough, 'of.'

⁴ 'Committee' in Clarke MS.

⁵ 'yourself' in text. Clarke MS. reads 'that the title of King was in itself so necessary as it seemed to be apprehended by yourselves. And yet . . .'
MS. Adds. Ayscough, reads 'yourselves.'

⁶ 'of,' Clarke MS.

will not deny me this? It¹ being not only a liberty, but a duty,—and such a duty as I cannot, without sinning, forbear,—to examine mine own heart, and thoughts, and judgement, in every work which I am to set my hand to, or to appear in, or for. I must confess therefore, that though I do acknowledge all the other [particulars]², yet I must be a little confident in this, that, what with the circumstances that accompany human actions,—whether they be circumstances of time or persons, whether circumstances that relate to the whole, or private or particular circumstances, that compass³ any person that is to render an account of his own actions,—I have truly thought, and do still think, that if I should at the best do anything on this account, to answer your expectation, at the best I should do it doubtingly. And certainly what is so [done], is not of faith; and whatsoever is not so,—whatsoever is not of faith,—is sin to him that doth it. Whether it be with relation to the substance of the action about which that consideration is conversant, or whether to circumstances about it, [it is that consideration] which makes all indifferent actions good or evil,—I say [in whatever] circumstances,—and truly I mean good or evil to him that doth [them]⁴. I lying under this consideration, think it my duty [to let you know]²,—only I could have wished I had done it sooner, for the sake of the House, who hath laid so infinite obligations on me,

¹ 'which is not only,' Clarke MS.

³ MS. Adds. Ayscough, 'accompany.'

² Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.; 'it' in text.

I wish I had done it sooner for [their]¹ sake, and for saving time and trouble; and indeed, for the Committee's sake, to whom I must acknowledge publicly I have been unreasonably troublesome, I say I could have wished I had given it sooner,—[that]² truly this is my answer, that, although I think the government³ doth consist of very excellent parts, in all but that one thing, the title, as to me, I should not be an honest man, if I should not tell you, that I cannot accept⁴ of the government, nor undertake the trouble and charge of it: which I have a little more experimented than everybody, what troubles and difficulties do befall men under such trusts, and in such undertakings. I say, I am persuaded [therefore]⁵ to return this answer to you, that I cannot undertake this government with that title of King. And that is my answer to this great weighty business⁶.

46.

‘The humble Petition and Advice.’ Speech to the House of Commons in the Painted Chamber, after giving consent, Monday, May 25, 1657.

‘Mr. Speaker,

I desire to offer a word or two unto you: which shall be but a word.

I did well bethink myself, before I came hither this

¹ *Clarke MS.*; ‘your’ in text and *MS. Adds. Ayscough.*

² *Clarke MS.*; ‘but’ in text and *MS. Adds. Ayscough.*

³ *Clarke MS.* reads ‘government propounded doth consist of excellent things all but in that very thing of the title.’

⁴ ‘accept,’ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ ‘affair,’ *Ibid.*

day, that I came not as to a triumph, but, with the most serious thoughts that ever I had in all my life, to undertake one of the greatest tasks¹ that ever was laid upon the back of a² human creature. And I make no question, but you will, and so will all men, readily agree with me, that, without the support of the Almighty, I shall necessarily sink under the burden of it; not only with shame and reproach to myself, but,—with that that is more a thousand times, and in comparison of which I and my family are not worthy to be mentioned,—with the loss and prejudice of these three nations. And that being so, I must ask your help, and the help of all those that fear God, that, by their prayers, I may receive assistance from the hand of God. His presence, going along, will enable to the discharge of so great a duty and trust as this is, and nothing else.

Howbeit I have some other things to desire [of]³ you, I mean of the Parliament: that, seeing this is but, as it were, an introduction to the carrying on of the government of these nations, and forasmuch as there are many things which cannot be supplied for the enabling to the carrying on of this work, without your help and assistance, I think it is my duty to ask your help in them. Not that I doubted⁴; for I believe the same spirit that hath led you to this, will easily suggest the rest to you. The truth is,—and

¹ 'burthens' in *Public Intelligencer*.

² 'any,' *MS. Adds. Ayscough*.

³ *Clarke MS. and MS. Adds. Ayscough*.

⁴ 'doubt' in *MS. Adds. Ayscough*.

I can say [it] in the presence of God,—that nothing would have induced me to have undertaken this insupportable burden to flesh and blood, had it not been that I have seen in this Parliament all along, a care of doing all those things that might truly and really answer the ends that have been engaged for. You have satisfied ¹ your forwardness and readiness therein very fully already.

I thought it my duty,—when your Committee, which you were pleased to send to me, [lately came] ² to give the grounds and reasons of your proceedings, to help ³ my conscience and judgement,—I was then bold to offer to them several considerations, which were received by them, and hath been presented to you. In answer to which the Committee did bring several resolves of yours, which I have by me. I think those are not yet made so authentic and authoritative as was desired, and therefore though I cannot doubt it, yet I thought it my duty to ask it of you, that there may be a perfecting of those things. Indeed as I said before, I have my witness in the sight of God, that nothing would have been an argument to me,—howsoever desirable ⁴ great places may seem to be to other men,—I say nothing would have been an argument to me to have undertaken this, but, as I said before, I saw such things determined by you, as [make] ⁵

¹ *Clarke MS.* ‘testified,’ and *MS. Adds. Ayscough.*

² *Public Intelligencer.*

³ *Clarke MS.* ‘satisfy’; *MS. Adds. Ayscough,* ‘according to my.’

⁴ *MS. Adds. Ayscough,* ‘unto me, how desirable soever.’

⁵ *Public Intelligencer* and *MS. Adds. Ayscough*; ‘makes’ in text.

clearly for the liberty of the nations, and for the liberty, and interest, and preservation of ¹ all such as fear God, of all that fear God under various forms. And if God make not these nations thankful to you for your care therein, it will fall as a sin on their heads. And therefore I say that hath been one main encouragement.

I confess there are other things that tend to reformation, to the discountenancing of vice, to the encouragement of good men, and virtue: and the completing of those things also [I look forward to]. Concerning some of which you have not yet resolved anything, save to let me know by your Committee, that you would not be wanting in anything [that might make] ² for the good of these nations. Nor do I speak it, as in the least doubting it, but I do earnestly and heartily desire,—to the end God may crown your work, and bless you, and this government,—that, in your own time, and with what speed you judge fit, these things may be provided for.'

47.

To the House of Commons, in the Painted Chamber,
Tuesday, June 9, 1657.

'Mr. Speaker,

I perceive, that, among these many Acts of Parliament, there hath been a very great care had by the Parliament to provide for the just and necessary

¹ *Clarke MS.* reads 'of all such as fear God under various forms,' and *MS. Adds. Ayscough.*

² *Public Intelligencer.*

support of the Commonwealth, by those Bills for the Levying of Money, now brought to me, which I have given my consent unto.

Understanding it hath been the practice of those who have been Chief Governors, to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons their care and regard of the public, I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness herein.'

48.

The Lord Protector's Speech to the two Houses of Parliament, in the House of Lords, Wednesday, Jan. 20, 1657⁷/₈.

'My Lords, and Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I meet you here in this capacity, by the Advice and Petition of this present Parliament, after so much expense of blood and treasure, to search and try what blessings God hath in store for these nations.

I cannot but with gladness of heart remember and acknowledge the labour and industry that is past, which hath been spent upon a business worthy of the best men, and the best Christians. It is very well known unto you all, what difficulties we have passed through, and what we are now arrived to¹. We hope we may say we have arrived at what we aimed at, if not at that which is much beyond our expectations.

¹ *Harleian MS.* 'and at what we are now arrived.'

The state of this cause, and the quarrel, what that was at the first, you all very well know : I am persuaded most of you have been actors in it. It was the maintaining of the liberty of these nations ; our civil liberties, as men ; our spiritual liberties, as Christians. I shall not much look back, but rather say one word concerning the state and condition we are all now in.

You know very well, the first Declaration after the beginning of this war, that spake to the life, was a sense held forth by the Parliament, that, for some succession of time, designs were laid to innovate upon the civil rights of the nations, to innovate in matters of religion. And those very persons, that a man would have thought should have had the least hand in the meddling with civil things, did justify them all ; all [irregular] ¹ transactions that were in pulpits, in presses, and otherwise, which was verily thought would have been a very good shelter to them, to innovate ² in matters of religion also ; and so to innovate as to eat out the core, and power, and heart, and life of all religion, by bringing on us a company of poisonous Popish ceremonies, and imposing them upon those that were [called and] ³ accounted the Puritans of the nation, and professors of religion amongst us ; driving them to seek their bread in a howling wilderness, as was instanced to our friends, who were forced to

¹ *Public Intelligencer.*

² *Harleian MS.* 'innovate upon us.'

³ *Public Intelligencer.*

fly for Holland, New-England, almost any-whither, to find liberty for their consciences.

[You see that the Petition and Advice that brought me hither hath, not through a little difficulty, restored us both in point of civil liberty as we are men, and liberty for all those that are of the Protestant profession amongst us; who enjoy a freedom to worship God according to their consciences.]¹

Now if this thing hath been the state and sum of our quarrel, and of those ten years' wars wherein we have been exercised, and that the good hand of God, for we are to attribute it to no other, hath brought this business thus home unto us, as it is stated in the Petition and Advice, [then]² I think we have all cause to bless God, and the nations have cause to bless him.

I well remember I did a little touch upon the eighty-fifth Psalm, when I spake unto you in the beginning of this Parliament, which expresseth well that, that we may say as truly and as well, as it was said of old by the penman of that Psalm. The first verse is an acknowledgement to God, that he had been favourable unto his land, and had brought back the captivity of his people, and that he had pardoned all their iniquities, and covered all their sin, and taken away all his wrath. And indeed [in]³ these unspeakable mercies, blessings and deliverances out of captivity, pardoning national sins and national

¹ *Harleian MS.*

² *Public Intelligencer*; 'and' in text.

³ 'of' in text; *Harleian MS.* 'the sence of.'

iniquities,—pardoning as God pardons the man whom he justifieth,—he breaks through and overlooks iniquity and pardoneth because he will pardon: and sometimes God pardoneth nations also. And if the enjoyment of our present peace and other mercies may be witnesses for God, we feel¹ and we see them every day.

The greatest demonstration of his favour and love appears to us in this, that he hath given us peace, and the blessings of peace, to wit the enjoyments of our liberties, civil and spiritual. And I remember well the Church falls into prayer and into praises, great expectations of future mercies, and much thankfulness for the enjoyment of present mercies, and breaks into this expression, “Surely salvation is nigh unto them that fear him, that glory may dwell in our land.” In the beginning he calls it his land, “Thou hast been favourable to [thy]² land.” Truly I hope this is his land: and in some sense it may be given out that it is God’s land. And he that hath the weakest knowledge and the worst memory, can easily tell [that we are a redeemed people]³. We were a redeemed people, when first God was pleased to look favourably upon us, [and to bring us] out of the hands of Popery in that never-to-be-forgotten reformation, that most significant and greatest the nation hath felt or tasted. I would but touch upon that, and but a touch, how hath God redeemed us as it is

¹ *Harleian MS.* ‘seek.’

² ‘our’ in text, but thus in the Psalm.

³ *Harleian MS.*

this day, not [only] from trouble and sorrow and anger, but unto a blessed and happy estate and condition, comprehensive of all the interests of every member, of every individual [of these nations]¹, as you very well see.

And then in what sense it is our land, through this grace and favour of God, that he hath vouchsafed unto us and bestowed upon us [liberty] with the gospel, with peace and rest out of ten years' war, and given us what we would desire. Nay, who would have fore-thought when we were plunged into the midst of our troubles, that ever the people of God should have had liberty to worship God without fear of enemies? Which is the very acknowledgement of the promise of Christ, that he would deliver his people from fear of enemies, that they might worship him in holiness and in righteousness all the days of their life. This is the portion that God hath given us, and I trust we shall for ever heartily acknowledge it.

The Church goes on there and makes her boast yet further, "His salvation is nigh them that fear him, that glory may dwell in our land." His glory, not carnal nor anything else, that accompanies this glory of a free possession of the gospel, this is that that we may glory in. And he says further, "Mercy and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other." And it shall be such righteousness as comes down from heaven, "Truth shall grow out of

¹ 'of those mercies' in text and Harleian MS.

the earth, and righteousness shall come down from heaven." Here is the truth of all, here is the righteousness of God, under the notion of righteousness, confirming our abilities, answerable to the truth that he hath in the gospel revealed towards us. And he closeth with this, "Righteousness shall go before him, and shall set us in the way of his steps." That righteousness, that mercy, that love and that kindness, which we have seen, and have been made partakers of from the Lord, it shall be our guide to teach us to know the right and the good way, which is to tread in the steps of mercy, righteousness, and goodness, that our God hath walked before us in.

We have a peace this day. I believe in my very heart you all think the things that I speak to you this day, I am sure you have cause [to], and yet we are not without the murmurings of many people, who turn all this grace and goodness into wormwood, who indeed are disappointed by the works of God. And those men are of several ranks and conditions, great ones, lesser ones, [men]¹ of all sorts, men that are of the episcopal spirit, with all the branches, the root and the branches: who gave themselves a fatal blow in [this]² place, when they would needs make a Protestation, that no laws were good which were made by this House and the House of Commons in their absence: and so without injury to themselves [they]³ cut off themselves. Indeed [they are] men

¹ *Public Intelligencer.*

² 'the' in text; *Harleian MS.* 'this.'

³ *Harleian MS.*

that know not God, that know not how to account upon¹ the works of God, how to measure them out, but will trouble nations for an interest that is but mixed at the best, made up of iron and clay like the feet of Nebuchadnezzar's image; whether they were more civil or spiritual was hard to say, but their continuance was like to be known beforehand, iron and clay make no good mixtures, they are not durable at all. You have now a godly ministry, you have a knowing ministry, such a one as, without vanity be it spoken, the world has not [the like]²: men knowing the things of God, and able to search into the things of God, by that only that can fathom those things in some measure [to wit the spirit of God]². The spirit of a beast knows not the spirit of a man, nor doth the spirit of a man know the things of God: [but]³ the things of God are known by the spirit. Truly I will remember but this one thing of those; their greatest persecution hath been of the people of God, men of the spirit of God, as, I think, very experiences will sufficiently demonstrate.

Besides, what's the reason think you, that men slip in this age wherein we live? As I told you before, [because]² they understand not the works of God: they consider not the operation of his laws, they consider not, that God resisted and broke in pieces the powers that were, that men might fear him, might have liberty to do and enjoy all that we have been speaking of, which certainly God has mani-

¹ *Harleian MS.* 'of.'² *Public Intelligencer.*³ *Harleian MS.*

fested that this was the ¹ end, and that he hath brought the things to pass. Therefore it is that men yet slip, and engage themselves against God. [They engage themselves, I say, against God,] ² and for that very cause [in the] twenty-eighth ³ Psalm, saith David, He shall break them down, and not [build] ⁴ them up. If therefore you would know upon what foundation you stand, own your foundation from God. He hath set you where you are : he hath set you in the enjoyment of your civil and spiritual liberties.

I deal clearly with you, I have been under some infirmity ⁵, therefore dare not speak further to you, but to let you know this much, that I have with truth and simplicity declared the state of our cause, and attainments in it, to you, by the industry and labour of this Parliament when they last met. Upon this foundation you shall find,—I mean the foundation of a cause and quarrel thus attained to, [and] ⁶ wherein we are thus instated,—I should be very glad to lay my bones with yours, and would have done it with all heartiness and cheerfulness, in the meanest capacity that I was ever yet in, to serve the Parliament.

If God give you [strength], as I trust he will,—he hath given it you, for what have I been speaking of but what you have done, [he hath given you strength to do what hath been done] ⁷,—and if God should bless

¹ *Harleian MS.* 'his.'

² *Ibid.*

³ 'very selfsame psalm, 28th psalm, saith,' *Ibid.*

⁴ *Public Intelligencer*; 'bind' in text and *Harleian MS.*

⁵ *Harleian MS.* 'infirmities.'

⁶ *Public Intelligencer.*

⁷ *Harleian MS.*

you in this work, and make this meeting happy upon this account, you shall all be called the blessed of the Lord; the generations to come will bless us. "You shall be the repairers of breaches, and the restorers of paths to dwell in"¹; and if there be any work that mortals can attain to in the world beyond this, I acknowledge my ignorance.

As I told you, I have some infirmities upon me, I have not liberty to speak more unto you, but I have desired an honourable person here by me to discourse a little more particularly what may be more proper for this occasion and this meeting.'

49.

The Lord Protector's Speech to the two Houses of Parliament, in the Banqueting-House at Whitehall, January 25, 1654.

'My Lords and Gentlemen of the Two Houses of Parliament, for so I must own you, in whom together with myself is vested the legislative power of these nations,

The impression of the weight of these affairs and interest for which we are met together is such, that I could not satisfy myself with a good conscience if I should not remonstrate to you somewhat of my apprehensions of the state of [the]² affairs of these nations, together with the proposals of such remedies

¹ Isa. lviii. 12.

² Sloane MS. and MS. Add. Ayscough.

as may occur to those dangers that are imminent upon us.

I conceive the well-being, yea the being of these nations is now at stake, and if God bless this meeting our tranquillity and peace may be lengthened out to us; if otherwise, I shall offer it to your judgements and considerations, by that time I have done, whether there be, as to men, a possibility of discharging that trust that is incumbent upon us for the safety and preservation of these nations. [And]¹ when I have told you what occurs² to my thoughts, I shall leave it to such an operation on your hearts as it shall please God Almighty to work upon you. I look on³ this to be the great duty of my place, as being set on a watch-tower, to see what may be for the good of these nations and what may be for the preventing of evil, that so by the advice of so great and wise a Council as this is, that hath in it the life and spirit of these nations, that good may be attained and that evil, whatever it is, may be obviated. We shall hardly set our shoulders to this work, unless it shall please God to work some conviction upon our hearts that there is need of our most serious and best counsels at such a time as this is.

I have not prepared any such matter and rule of speech to deliver myself unto you, as perhaps might have been more fitter for me to have done and more serviceable for you to [have understood]⁴ me in, but

¹ *Sloane MS.*

³ *Ibid.* 'reckon.'

² *Ibid.* 'comes.'

⁴ *Ibid.* text, 'to understand.'

shall only speak plainly and honestly to you out of such conceptions as it hath pleased God to set upon me. We have not been now four years and upwards in this government, to be totally ignorant of the things that may be of the greatest concernment to us. Your dangers, for that is the head of my speech, they are either with respect had to affairs abroad and their difficulties, or to affairs at home and their difficulties. You come, [if]¹ I may say so now, in the end of as great difficulties and straits, as I think ever nation was engaged in. I had in my thoughts to have made this the method of my speech, to wit, to let you see the things that hazard your being and your well-being, [but when I came seriously to consider better of it, I thought, as your affairs stand, that all things would resolve themselves into very being.]² You are not a nation, you will not be a nation, if God strengthen you not to meet with these evils that are upon us.

First, from abroad. What are the affairs, I beseech you, abroad? I thought the profession of the Protestant religion was a thing of well-being. And truly, in a good sense so it is, and it is no more; though it be a very high thing, it is but a thing of well-being. But take it with all the complications of it, with all the concomitants³ of it, with respect had to the nations abroad, I do believe that he that looks well about him and considereth the estate⁴ of the

¹ *Sloane MS.*; text, 'as.'² *Sloane MS. and MS. Adds. Ayscough.*³ *MS. Adds. Ayscough*, 'circumstances.'⁴ *Sloane MS.* 'state.'

Protestant affairs all Christendom over, he must needs say and acknowledge that the greatest design now on foot, in comparison with which all other designs are but low¹ things, is, whether the Christian world should² be all Popery; or, whether God hath a love to, and we ought to have a brotherly fellow-feeling of, the interest of all the Protestant Christians in the world. And he that strikes at but one species of a general to make it nothing, strikes at all. Is it not so now, that the Protestant cause and interest abroad is struck at, and is in opinion and apprehension quite underfoot, trodden down? And judge with me, I beseech you, a little, whether it be so or no; and then, I pray you, will you consider how far we are concerned in that danger, as to being.

We have known very well³ that that [which]⁴ is accounted the honest and religious interest of the nation, it was not trodden down under foot all at once, but by degrees, that that interest might be consumed as with a canker insensibly, as Jonah's gourd was, till it was quite withered in a night. It is at another rate now, for certainly this [enmity is] in the general; the Papacy, and those that are the upholders of it, they have openly and avowedly trod God's people under foot on that very notion and account, that they were Protestants. The money that you parted with in that noble charity that was exercised

¹ *Sloane MS.* 'little.'

² *Ibid.* 'shall.'

³ *Sloane MS. and MS. Adds. Ayscough,* 'We have known very well,' repeated.

⁴ *Sloane MS.; text,* 'that's.'

in¹ this nation, and the just sense that you had of those poor Piedmonts², was satisfaction enough to yourselves of that as a precursory thing. If all the Protestants in Europe had had but that head, that head had been cut off, and so an end of all. Is this all? No! Look but how the House of Austria, on both sides of Christendom, are armed and prepared to make themselves able to destroy the whole Protestant interest. Is not, to begin there, the King of Hungary [prepared,] who expecteth with his partisans to make himself Emperor of Germany, and in the judgement of all men not only in possibility but a certainty of the acquisition of it? Is not he, since he hath mastered the Duke of Brandenburg one of the Electors? And no doubt but he will have [three]³ of the Episcopal Electors, and the Duke of Bavaria. Who [will he]⁴ have to contest with him abroad, for taking the Empire of Germany out of his hands? And is not he the son of a father, whose principal interest⁵ and personal conscience guided him to exile all the Protestants out of his own patrimonial country, out of Bohemia,—got with the sword,—out of Moravia and Silesia? It is that which is [in] the daily complaints that [come]⁶ over to us, some of which we have but received within these two or three days, being conveyed by some godly Ministers in the city,

¹ Sloane MS. 'within.'

² Ibid. 'Piedmontese.'

³ Ibid.; text, 'tree.'

⁴ Text, 'Who he will'; Sloane MS. 'Whom will he.'

⁵ Sloane MS. and MS. Add. Ayscough, 'principles, interest.'

⁶ MS. Add. Ayscough; text, 'came.'

that they are tossed out of Poland into the Empire, and out thence whither they can fly to get their bread, and are ready to perish for want of food. What think you of that other side of Europe, to wit, Italy,—if I may call it the other side of Europe, as I think I may,—Spain, and all those adjacent parts, with the Grisons, Piedmonts¹ afore mentioned, the Switzers; they all, what are they but a prey of the Spanish power and interest? And look to that that calls itself the head of all this, a Pope fitted,—I hope indeed born not in, but out of due time,—to accomplish this bloody work, that so he may fill up his cup to the brim and make him ripe for judgement. He doth, as always he hath done. He [hath]² influenced all the Powers and all the Princes in Europe to this very thing, and no man like this present man. So that I beseech you, what is there in all the parts of Europe, what is there I say in all the [other]² parts of Europe, but a consent, co-operating at this very time and season to them, to suppress everything that stands in their way?

But it may be said, This is a great way [off]³ in the extremest parts of it; what is that to us? If it be nothing to you, let it be nothing to you. I have told you it is somewhat to you, and it concerns all your religion and all the good interest of Europe. I have, I thank God, considered. I would beg of you to consider a little more with me, what that resistance

¹ *Sloane MS.* 'Piedmontese.'

² *Ibid.*

³ *MS. Adds. Ayscough; text, 'of.'*

is that is likely to be made to this mighty current¹, that is like to be coming from all parts on all Protestants. Who is there that holdeth up his head to oppose this great design? A poor Prince! Indeed poor, but a man in his person as gallant, and truly I think I may say as good, as any these late ages have brought forth; a man that hath adventured his all against the Popish interest in Poland, [and]² made his acquisition still good for the Protestant religion. He is now reduced into a corner, and that which addeth to the grief of all, and more than all that hath been spoken of before,—I wish it may not be too truly said,—[is] that men of our religion forget that, and seek his ruin. And I beseech you consider [a little, consider]³ the consequences of that. For what doth all this signify? Is it only a noise, or hath it [an]⁴ articulate sound with it? Men that are not true to that religion we profess,—I am persuaded with greater truth, uprightness and sincerity than it is by any collected body, so nearly gathered together as these nations are, in all the world,—God will find them out. I beseech you consider how things do co-operate, if this may seem but to be a design against your well-being. It is against your very being though, this artifice and this complex [design]⁵ against the Protestant interest, wherein so many Pro-

¹ *Sloane MS.* 'torrent.'² *MS. Adds. Ayscough.*³ *Sloane MS. and MS. Adds. Ayscough.*⁴ *Text*, 'hath it only,' and so *MS. Adds. Ayscough.*⁵ *MS. Adds. Ayscough*; *text*, 'designed.'

testants are not so right as were to be wished. If they can shut us out of the Baltic Sea, and make themselves masters of that, where is your trade? Where are your materials to preserve your shipping, or where will you be able to challenge any right by sea, or justify yourselves against a foreign invasion in your own soil? Think upon it; this is in design. I do believe, if you will go to ask the poor mariner in his red-cap and coat, as he passeth from ship to ship, you will hardly find in any ship but they will tell you this is designed against you; so obvious is it, by this and other things, that you are the object. And, in my conscience, I know not for what else, but because of the purity of the Profession amongst you, who have not yet made it your trade to prefer your profit before [your]¹ godliness, but reckon godliness the greater gain. But should it so happen that, as contrivances stand, you should not be able to vindicate yourselves against all whatsoever,—I name no one State upon this head, but I think all acknowledge [that] States are engaged in this combination,—judge you where you are!

You have accounted yourselves happy in being environed with a great ditch from all the world beside. Truly you will not be able to keep your ditch, nor your shipping, unless you turn your ships and your shipping into troops of horse and companies of foot, and fight to defend yourselves in *terra firma*.

¹ Sloane MS, and MS. Add. Ayscough.

If these things [succeed]¹, *Liberavi animam meam*; I have told you of it. And if there be no danger in this, I have satisfied myself [that]² I have told you. [If]² you will judge [it]² no danger, if you will think we may discourse of all things at pleasure, that it is a time of sleep and ease and rest, without a due sense of these things, I have this comfort to Godward, I have told you of it. And really, were it not that France, give me leave to say it, is a balance to this party at this time, should there be a peace made, that hath been and still is laboured and aimed at, a general peace, then will England be the general object of all the fury and wrath of all the enemies of God and our religion in the world. I have nobody to accuse, but do [but]³ look on the other side of the water. You have neighbours there, some that you are in amity with, some that have professed malice enough against you. I think you are fully satisfied in that. I had rather you would trust your enemy than some friends; that is, believe your enemy and trust him that he means your ruin, rather than have confidence in some that perhaps may be in some alliance with you. I perhaps could infer all this with some particulars, nay I could. For you know that your enemies be the same that have been accounted your enemies ever since Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown; an avowed, designed enemy, wanting nothing of counsel, wisdom and prudence to

¹ Sloane MS.; text, 'saved,' and MS. Adds. Ayscough.

² Sloane MS.

³ Ibid.; MS. Adds. Ayscough, 'do but look.'

roust you out of the face of the earth. And when public attempts would not do, how have they, by the Jesuits and other [their]¹ emissaries, laid foundations to perplex and trouble our government by taking away the lives of them that they judged to be of any use to preserve your peace! And at this time I ask you whether you do not think they are designing as busily as ever any people were to prosecute the same counsels and things to the uttermost?

The business was then, the Dutch needed Queen Elizabeth of famous memory for their protection. They had it. I hope they will never ill-requite it; for if they should forget either the kindness that was then shewed them, which was their real safety, or the desires this nation hath had to be at peace with them, truly I believe whoever exercises any ingratitude in this sort will hardly prosper in it. But this may awaken you; howsoever I hope, you will be awakened upon all these considerations. It is true, it is true they have professed a principle that, thanks be to God, we never knew. They will sell arms to their enemies, and lend their ships to their enemies. They will do so, [and truly that principle is not a matter in dispute at this time, only let everything weigh with your spirits as it ought, let it do so]¹. And we must tell you, that we do know that this is true. I dare assure you of it, and that I think if your Exchange here were but resorted to, it would let you know as much as you can desire to know, that

¹ *Sloane MS. and MS. Adds. Ayscough.*

they have hired sloops, I think they call them or some other name, they have hired sloops to transport upon you four thousand foot and one thousand horse upon the pretended interest of that young man that was the late King's son. And this is I think a thing, so far from being reckoned a suggestion to any ill end or purpose, or to any other end than to awaken you to a just consideration of your danger and to unite [you] to a just and natural defence. Indeed I never did, and I hope I never shall, use any artifice with you to pray you to help us with money to defend ourselves, but if money be needful, I will tell you. [I]¹ pray [you]¹ help us with money, that the interest of the nation may be defended both abroad and at home. I will use no arguments, and thereby will disappoint the artifice of false men abroad that say it is for money [that I say this]. Whosoever shall think to put things out of frame upon such a suggestion, [it will be in vain,] for you will find I will be very plain with you before I have done, and that with all love and affection and faithfulness to you and these nations. If this be the condition of affairs abroad, I pray a little consider what is the estate of your affairs at home. And if both these considerations have but this effect, to get² a consideration among you, a due and just consideration [of our want, it is well]. Let God move your hearts for the answering of anything that shall be due to the nation, as he shall please. And I hope I shall not be solicitous.

¹ MS. Adds. Ayscough.² Sloane MS. 'beget.'

I shall look up to him that hath been my God and my guide hitherto.

I say, I beseech you, look to your own affairs at home, how they stand. I am persuaded you are all, I apprehend you [are] all very honest and worthy good men, and that there is not a man of you but would desire to be found a good patriot. I know you would. We are apt to boast sometimes that we are Englishmen. And truly it is no shame to us that we are so, but it is a motive to us to do like Englishmen, and seek the real good of this nation and the interest of it. But I beseech you, what is our case at home? I profess I do not know well where to begin at this head or where to end, I do not, but I must needs say let a man begin where he will, he shall hardly be out of that drift I am speaking to you. We are as full of calamities and divisions among us in respect of the spirits of men, though, through a wonderful, admirable, and never to be sufficiently admired providence of God, in peace. And the fighting we have had and the success we have had, yea, we that are here, we are an astonishment to the world; and [yet] take us in that temper we are in, or rather distemper, it¹ is the greatest miracle that ever befel the sons of men; and whosoever shall seek to break it, God Almighty rout that man out of this nation,—and he will do it, let the pretences be what they will. He that considereth not the woman with child, the sucking children of this nation that know not the right hand from the

¹ *i. e. the fact that we have peace.*

left, of whom, for aught I know, it may be said, this city is as full as it is said of Nineveh¹ [of old]²; he that considereth not these, and the fruit that is like to come out of the bodies of those now living added to these, he that considereth not these, must have a Cain's heart, who was marked and made to be an enemy to all men and all men enemies to him, for the wrath and justice of God will persecute³ such a man to his grave, if not to hell. I say, look on this nation. Look on it. Consider what are the [varieties]⁴ of interest [in this nation, if they be worthy of the name of interests]⁵. If God did not hinder, all would [but]⁵ make up a confusion, and we shall find there will be more than a Cain in England, if God did not restrain, and we should have another more bloody civil war than ever we had in England. For I beseech you, what is the general spirit of this nation? Is it not that each sort of people, if I may call them sects, whether sects upon a religious account or upon a civil account, is not this nation miserable in that respect? What is that which [possesses]⁶ every sect? What is it? That every sect may be uppermost, that every sort of men may get the power into their hands, [—and they would use it well,—that every sect may get the power into their hands]⁷. It were

¹ Text, 'Ninevy.'² Sloane MS.³ Ibid. 'prosecute,' and MS. Adds. Ayscough.⁴ MS. Adds. Ayscough; text, 'variety'; but perhaps read 'variety of interests.'⁵ Sloane MS.⁶ Ibid.; text, 'professeth'; MS. Adds. Ayscough, 'possesseth.'⁷ Sloane MS. and MS. Adds. Ayscough.

a happy thing if the nation would be content with rule, if it were but in civil things, with those that would rule worst; because misrule is better than no rule, and an ill government, a bad one, is better than none. It is not that only, but we have an appetite to variety, to be not only making wounds, but as if we should see one making wounds in a man's side and would desire nothing more than to be groping and grovelling with his fingers in those wounds. This is that men will be at; this is the spirit of those that would trample on men's liberties in spiritual respects. They will be making wounds, and rending and tearing, and making them wider than they are. Is not this the case? Doth there want anything,—I speak not of sects in an ill sense, but the nation is hugely made up of them,—and what is the want that these things are not done to the uttermost, but that men have more anger than strength? They have not power to attain their ends. And I beseech [you]¹ judge what such a company of men of these sorts are doing while they are contesting one with another. They are contesting in the midst of a generation of men, a malignant Episcopal party, I mean contesting in the midst of these, all united. What must be the issue of such a thing as this? It is so. And do but judge what proofs have been made of the spirits of these men; summoning men together to take up arms, and to exhort each sort to fight for their [notions]², every sort thinking they are to try it out by

¹ *MS. Adds. Ayscough.*

² *Ibid.; text, 'nations'?*

the sword, every sort thinking that they are truly under the banner of Christ if they but come in and oblige upon this account. Now do but judge what a hard condition this poor nation is in. This is the state and condition we are in. Judge, I say, what a hard condition this poor nation is in, and the cause of God in the midst of such a party of men as the Cavaliers are and their participants, not only with respect to what these are like to do among themselves, but some of these, yea some of these, they care not who carry the goal; nay, some of these have invited the Spaniard himself to assist and carry on the Cavalier cause. And that this is true, and many other things that are not fit to be suggested to you because we should betray the interest of our intelligence, [I dare assert].

I say, this is your condition. What is your defence? What hinders the eruption of all this upon you irresistibly, to your utter destruction? Truly you have an army in these parts, in Scotland, in England, and Ireland. Take them away to-morrow, would not all these interests run into one another? I know you are rational, prudent men; have you any frame or model of things that would satisfy the minds of men, if this be not the frame you are now called together upon and engaged in? I mean the two Houses of Parliament and myself. What hinders this nation from being made an Aeldama, if this do not? It is [this] without doubt; give the glory to God. Give the glory to God, for without this it

would prove as great a plague as all that hath been spoken of. It is this without doubt that keeps this nation in peace and quietness. But what is the case of this army? a poor unpaid army, the soldiers going barefoot at this time, in this city, this weather, and yet a peaceable people, seeking to serve you with their lives, judging their pains and hazards, and all, well bestowed in obeying their officers and serving you to keep the peace of these nations. Yea, he must be a man that hath a heart as hard as the weather, that hath not a due sense of this. So that I say, that it is most plain and evident this is your outward and present defence. And yet at this day, do but you judge [how it stands], the Cavalier party, the several humours of unreasonable men in these several ways having made batteries at this defence ever since you enjoyed your peace. What have they made their business but this, [to] spread libellous books, yea, and pretend the liberty of the people, which really wiser men [than they] may pretend. For let me say this to you at once, I never look to see the people of England come into a just liberty, if any other war should overtake us. I think, at least, that that is likely to bring us into our liberty, is a consistency and agreement [within]¹ this meeting. Therefore all that I can say to you is this, it will be your wisdom, I do think truly, and your justice to keep this interest close to you, to uphold this settlement, which I have no cause to think but you are agreed to and

¹ *Text, 'with with.'*

that you like it. For I assure you, I am very greatly mistaken else to think that that which is now the settlement among us, is that which hath been my inducement to bear the burden I bear, and serve the Commonwealth in the place I am in.

And therefore if you [should] judge, that this be not argument enough to persuade you to be sensible of your danger, which besides good-nature and ingenuity would move a stone to be sensible of, therefore give us leave to consider a little what will become of us if our spirits should go otherwise. If our spirits be dissatisfied, what will become of things? Here is an army, five or six months behind in pay; yea, an army in Scotland near as much; an army in Ireland much more. [And if these things be not considered]¹, —I cannot doubt but that they will be considered,—I say judge what the case of Ireland is, should free quarter come upon the Irish people. You have a company of Scots in the north of Ireland that I hope are honest men; in the province of Galway² almost all the Irish transported to the West. You have the interest of England newly begun to be planted. The people there are full of necessities and complaints. They bear to the uttermost, and should the soldier[s]³ run upon free quarter there upon your [English planters as they must, the]⁴ English planters must quit the country through mere beggary, and that which hath been the success of so much blood and

¹ *Sloane MS. and MS. Adds. Ayscough.*

² *Text, 'Galloway.'*

³ *MS. Adds. Ayscough.*

⁴ *Sloane MS. and MS. Adds. Ayscough.*

treasure to get that country into your hands, what will be the consequence but that the English must needs run away for pure beggary and the Irish must possess the country for a receptacle to a Popish and Spanish interest? And hath Scotland been long settled? Have not they a like sense of poverty? I speak plainly, in good earnest I do think the Scots' nation have been under as great suffering in point of livelihood and substance outwardly as any people I have yet named to you. I do think truly, they are a very ruined nation, yet in a way,—I have spoken with some gentlemen come from thence,—hopeful enough yet. It hath pleased God to give that plentiful encouragement to the meaner sort, I must say the meaner sort, in Scotland. I must say, if it please God to encourage the meaner sort, the meaner sort live as well and are likely to come into as thriving a condition under your government, as when they were under their great Lords, who made them work for their living no better than the peasants of France. I am loth to speak anything which may reflect upon that nation, but the middle sort of this people grow up into such a substance, as makes their lives comfortable if not better than they were before. If now after all this, we shall not be sensible of all those designs which are in the midst of us, of the united Cavaliers, of the designs which are animated every day from Flanders and Spain, if we shall look upon ourselves as a divided people, a man cannot certainly tell where to find consistency anywhere in England.

Certainly there is no consistency in anything, that may be worthy the name of the body of consistency, but in this company that are met here. How should that man lay his hand upon his heart and not talk of things, neither to be made out by the light of Scripture nor reason, and draw one another off from considering these things? I dare leave them with you and commit them to your bosom. They have a weight, a greater weight than any I have yet suggested to you from abroad or at home.

If this be our case¹ abroad and at home, that our being and well-being,—our well-being is not worth the naming comparatively,—I say, if that be our case of our being abroad and at home that through want to bear up our honour at sea and for want to maintain that that is our defence at home [we are in danger], [and if]² that through our mistake we shall be led off our consideration of these things and talk of circumstantial things and quarrel about circumstances, and shall not with heart and soul intend and carry on these things, I confess I can look for nothing. I can say no more than what expresseth in print, of one that having consulted everything, he could hold to nothing like nothing, neither Fifth Monarchy nor Presbytery nor [Independency]³, nothing, but at length concludes he

¹ MS. Adds. Ayscough ends here with the following note: 'There being not room enough to write what remains of this speech, you shall find the remainder of it in the Third Book, at the beginning, where the mark is.' Unfortunately the British Museum possesses neither the First nor the Third Book.

² Text, 'but.'

³ Text, 'Independent.'

was for nothing but an orderly confusion. And for men that have wonderfully lost their consciences and their wits, [that suffices]; I speak of men abroad that cannot tell what they would have, yet are willing to kindle coals to disturb others.

And now having said this, I have discharged my duty to God and to you in making this demonstration; and I profess to you not [as]¹ a rhetorician. My business [to you is]¹ to prove the verity of the designs from abroad and still unsatisfied spirits of Cavaliers at home, who from the first of our peace to this day have not been wanting to do what they could to kindle a fire at home in the midst of us. I say, if this be so the truth, I pray God affect your hearts with a due sense of it and give you one heart and mind to carry on this work for which we are met together. If these things be so, should you [not] meet to-morrow and accord in all things tending to [the]² preservation of your rights and liberties, really it will be feared there is too much time elapsed to deliver yourselves from those dangers that hang upon you. We have had now six years' peace, and have had an interruption of ten years' war. We have seen and heard and felt the evils of it, and now God hath given us a new taste of the comfort and benefit of peace. Have you not had such a peace in England, Ireland, and Scotland, that there is not a man to lift up his finger to put you into a distemper? Is not this a mighty blessing from the Lord of Heaven? Shall we now be

¹ *Sloane MS.*

² *Ibid.*; text, 'your.'

prodigal of time? Should any man, shall we, listen to delusions to break and interrupt this peace? There is not any man that hath been true to this cause, as I believe you have been all, that can look for anything but the greatest rending and persecution that ever was in the world. I wonder then how it can enter into the heart of [any]¹ man to undervalue these things, to slight peace and the Gospel, the greatest mercy of God. We have peace and the Gospel. Let us have one heart and soul, one mind to maintain the honest and just rights of this nation, not to pretend them to the destruction of our peace, to the destruction of the nation. Really, pretend what you will, if we run into another flood of blood and war, the sinews of this nation being wasted by the last, it must sink and perish utterly. I beseech you and charge you in the name and presence of God, and as before him, be sensible of these things and lay them to heart. You have a day of fasting coming on: I beseech God touch your hearts and open your ears to this truth, and that you may be as deaf adders to stop your ears² to all dissension, and look upon them, whosoever they be. As Paul saith to the Church of Corinth, as I remember, Mark such men as cause divisions and offences³ and would disturb you from that foundation of peace you are upon, upon any pretence whatsoever.

I shall conclude with this. I was free the last time of our meeting to tell you I would discourse

¹ *Sloane MS.*

² *Ps. lviii. 4.*

³ *Rom. xvi. 17.*

upon a Psalm, and I did. I am not ashamed of it at any time, especially when I meet with men of such a consideration as you are. There you have one verse that I [then]¹ forgot; "I will hear what the Lord will speak: he will speak peace to his people and to his saints, that they turn not again to folly." Dissension, division, destruction, in a poor nation under a civil war, having all the effects of a civil war upon it! Indeed if we return again to folly, let every man consider if it be not like to be our destruction. If God shall [not] unite your hearts and bless you, and give you the blessing of union and love one to another, and tread down everything that riseth up in your hearts or tendeth to deceive your own souls with pretences of this and that thing that we speak of, and [if you do] not prefer the keeping of peace, that we may see the fruits of righteousness in them that love peace and embrace peace, it will be said of this poor nation, *Actum est de Anglia*. But I trust God will never leave it to such a spirit. And while I live [and]² am able, I shall be ready to stand and fall with you in this seeming promising union God hath wrought amongst you, which I hope neither the pride nor envy of men shall be able to dissipate and make void. I have taken my oath to govern according to the laws that are now made [and to be made]², and I trust I shall fully answer it. And know, I sought not this place, I speak it before God, angels and men, I did not. You sought

¹ See Ps. lxxxv. 8.

² Sloane MS.

me for it and you brought me to it, and I took my oath to be faithful to the interest of these nations, to be faithful to the government. All those things were implicit in my ¹ eye in that oath, to be faithful to this government upon which we are now met. And I trust, by the grace of God, as I have taken my oath to serve this Commonwealth on such an account, I shall, I must, see it done according to the articles of the government; that thereby liberty of conscience may be secured for honest people, that they may serve God without fear, that every just interest may be preserved, that a godly ministry may be upheld and not affronted by seducing and seduced spirits, that all men may be preserved in their just rights, whether civil or spiritual. Upon this account did I take oath and sware to this government. And so, having declared my heart and mind to you in this, I have nothing more to say but to pray God Almighty bless you.'

50.

Thursday, Jan. 28; Answer to the Committee of the House of Commons, which requested him to give directions for the printing of his speech of Monday, Jan. 25, 1657.

[Substance only.]

'His Highness said, He could not have looked upon the Committee as a Committee of the House of Commons had he not seen the Paper and the persons of the Committee. That what he spake in

¹ Sloane MS. ends here.

the Banqueting-House was delivered to both Houses, the House of Lords and the House of Commons: And that he was exceeding tender of the breach of Privilege of either House, whereunto he had sworn, and by the blessing of God would maintain: And that he did not know, nor was satisfied, that it was not against the Privilege of either House for him to give an answer to either of the Houses apart. That he spake to the Houses those things that did lie upon his own heart; and that he did acquaint them honestly and plainly how things stood in matters of fact, but of particulars he doth not remember four lines. That he had considered with some persons about the papers relating to Money; and found some particulars short and some over; but he would take them into consideration and set them right, and would give a timely account thereof. He desired his affections might be presented to the House, and that he would be ready to serve them faithfully in that capacity he is in.'

51.

The Lord Protector's speech in the House of Lords, dissolving the Two Houses, February 4, 1657.

'My Lords, and Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The last time I met you here I had very comfortable expectations that God would make the calling of this Parliament and the meeting of it

a blessing to ours and to these nations. And the Lord is my witness, I desired the carrying on of the affairs of these nations to those ends that I then expressed to you with so much sincerity as satisfies my own conscience, and for which if I did deal with you in hypocrisy, when I told you the blessing that we were arrived at, if I did not with all my heart believe it and desire it with my soul, then I most fear the uppermost Witness. And, as we told you¹, we had attained mercy and truth, righteousness and peace, so that we should go on to follow those footsteps that God had laid for us, for the future improvement of them, improvement for mercy and truth, and righteousness and peace.

I did think truly that that, that brought me into the capacity I now stand in, and did then, was the Petition and Advice given me by this Parliament, by you especially of the House of Commons, who did in reference to the ancient Constitution frame your Petition and Advice by which you drew me to accept of the place I now stand in. There is ne'er a man within these walls that can say, Sir, you sought it²! Nay, not a man nor woman treading upon English ground. But contemplating, as well as I could, upon the sad indisposition³ of these nations, broken almost in pieces with an intestine war, recovered through

¹ Clarke MS. 30 reads, 'the blessing which I mean and which we ever climbed at was Mercy, that Righteousness and Peace which I desire may be improved.'

² Ibid. 'There is not a man living can say I sought it!'

³ Ibid. 'conditions.'

the blessing of God unto a six or seven years' peace, entire peace, having at the last arrived at an opportunity of settlement, I did think us exceeding happy in that progress that we had made. Being petitioned unto and advised by you to undertake such a government as this, of so great a weight as this is, upon such conditions and with such considerations as were not sudden to me but deliberated,—you know what your Petition and Advice did offer me,—when I had conference with you two or three times, I expostulated with you and dealt clearly and candidly with you; I thought the burden too heavy for any creature. And I told you that except there might be this and that and [the] other thing, which you agreed to me, and upon which you invited me to undertake this government, I could not, I would not undertake it. And when I had debated all those things with you, everything in this government, and you that were then in the Legislative capacity agreeing upon such a state of government, as that was which you brought to me and I sought not of you, I looked that the same men that had made that frame would have made it good to me when I came to act your Petition and Advice. Give me leave to interpose this. No man, no man but a man mistaken, and greatly mistaken, could think that I, that hath a burden upon my back for the space of fifteen or sixteen years, unless he would beforehand judge me an Atheist, would seek such a place as I bear. I cannot say¹ it in the

¹ *Clarke MS. 'I can say.'*

presence of God, in comparison of which all we that are here [are] like poor creeping ants upon the earth, that I would have been glad, as to my own conscience and spirit, to have been living under a woodside to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than to have undertaken such a place as this was. But undertaking of it upon such terms as I did, known to you all that did advise and petition, that I undertook it for the safety of the nation, [I did look that you, that did offer it unto me, should have make it good]¹. And I doubt if you had offered it to the meanest man in this room, he would not have undertaken it really, if he had but wisely considered his own person. But upon such terms really I took it, and I am failed in these terms.

I tell you of one thing that I made a condition². I would not undertake it without there might be some other body, that might interpose between you and me, on the behalf of the Commonwealth to prevent a tumultuary and popular spirit. You granted it, that I should name another House. And I named it with integrity, I did. I named it of men that can meet you wheresoever you go and shake hands with you, and tell you that it is not titles, it is not lordship, it is not this nor that, that they value, but a Christian and an English interest. Men of your own rank and qualities, and men that I approved my heart to God

¹ Clarke MS., but this may be only another version of concluding phrase.

² Ibid. 'I did tell you at a conference concerning it, that.'

in choosing; men that I hope[d] would not only be a balance to a Commons' House of Parliament but to themselves, having honest hearts, loving the same things that you love, whilst you love England and whilst you love Religion. And having proceeded upon these terms and finding such a spirit as is too much predominant, everything is either too high or too low, and when virtue and honesty and piety and justice are aimed at¹, even in choosing [in] such a way as did satisfy my conscience, then I was neither too high nor too low, but I pitched upon men that I hope will be willing to sacrifice their lives for these good interests. I thought in doing that, that was my duty to God and satisfying my own conscience. I thought it would have satisfied you. But if everything must be either too high or too low, you are not satisfiable, and I pray God misery be not found from the Lord,—I hope it will never be found from me,—a more necessary teacher than mercy. When I speak of mercy, I speak of the mercy that cometh from God to you. I take not myself to be able to dispense it as I would, but I say I did choose such a House as I thought I might answer for upon my life, that they would be true to those ends and those things that were the ground and state of our war with the Cavalier party all along. And what will satisfy, if this will not?

Again, I would not choose to accept² of this govern-

¹ *Parliamentary History*, 'are omitted.'

² *Clarke MS.* 'I would not have accepted.'

ment unless I knew that there would be a just reciprocation between the government and the governed, whether the governed representative or the whole collective body; those that were the representative of the whole body of the nation, unless they would take an oath to make good what the Parliament petitioned and advised me to. Upon that, [the] reciprocation of my part was the taking of an oath. I did take it. They that petitioned and advised me, know that I made everything in this government a condition of my oath, and whosoever took the oath on their own part, took an oath answerable to mine. Did not every man that had a hand in the Petition and Advice, and drew me in,—I speak not in an ill sense, I would have amended that word,—[and] persuaded me to accept of their Petition and Advice, did not every man know upon what conditions I swore, and did not every man, that swore with reciprocation, know upon what conditions he swore? And what apprehension soever, what place soever, or sense soever this may have in your hearts, I tell you mine is different from yours, and I hope,—God knows upon what condition I took that oath,—I took it upon the condition expressed in the government. And I can say, with truth and uprightness, had that government been settled, that we had been upon a foundation. I tell you what my understanding was of it. That when it was once agreed, we were upon a bottom. I thought myself bound to take the advice of the two Houses in anything, after that foundation was once

agreed, in anything that might have been an emendation to it. But there was a supposition while we stood unsettled in anything till we knew what we should come at, the consequence whereof must necessarily have been absolute confusion. If you had once settled the government as it is,—not to make hereditary Lords nor to make hereditary King or Kings,—ye had had a basis to stand upon. The power of these nations consisting, as this government, in the two Houses and myself, whatever had occurred to your judgement and your consciences had tended upon the same authority, to wit, the legislative power to have settled anything that might have been for further good. And therefore not to say what the meaning of your oath was to you,—that were a little to go against mine own principle to enter upon other men's consciences,—but I tell you what it was to me and in doing that I am satisfied enough. God will judge between me and you.

But alas! Is this the complaint that there hath been a misunderstanding in the way that things have been? There cannot be but misunderstanding, through the avoiding to do that that occurs to every man's reason. If there were an intention of settlement you would have settled upon this [basis] to have altered or allayed. Ye had the free exercise of a legislative power to have offered your judgement and opinion when you had pleased. But this hath not been done, it hath not. But what hath been done? Truly that that I cannot speak to you of but

with shame, and with grief, and sorrow. God is my witness, I speak it, it is evident to all the world, to all the town, to all the army, people living in the world, that a new business hath been seeking in the room of this, this actual settlement, settlement by your consent; and in this I do not speak to those Gentlemen or Lords, or whatever you will call them, I say not this to them, but I say it to you. You advised me to be where I am in this place, you, you did, for these persons were not in this capacity; but by you I am in this capacity and they are in this capacity, and yet instead of taken for agreed —. It was a stated business, the nation had time to look round about them. But if you must have and must have we know not what, you not only have disquieted yourselves, but the whole nation is disquieted; and give me leave to tell you what I think, running more in arrear of satisfaction, a likelihood of running into confusion in fifteen or sixteen days than really they have done from your last rising¹ to this day, which was about the 26th of June and through these inventions of, really, designing a Commonwealth that some Tribune of the people might be the man that might rule all. This hath been the business really. I am sorry to say it, but I think the meanest people that go about the streets take notice of it. This is the business; but is this all? They have engaged, or persuaded others to engage to carry that thing on;

¹ *Clarke MS. 'from the rising of the last session.'*

and hath that man been true to this nation, whosoever he be, that hath [dared]¹, especially if he hath taken an oath, thus to prevaricate? I tell you, you will not think us altogether asleep. We have known these things have been designed. We have known attempts have been made in the Army to seduce them, and almost the greatest confidence hath been in the Army to break us and divide us. I speak it in the presence of some of the Army, and I must tell you those things they have not been according to God nor according to truth, they have not. I do deal faithfully with you whilst I have seen the tendency of those things to be nothing else, pretend what you will, but the playing of the King of Scots his game, if I may so say, by beginning tumults and disturbances amongst us. I think myself bound as before God to do what I can to prevent it, that they go no further. I tell you, nay I thought it my duty in conscience to tell you what I told you at the last meeting in the Banqueting-House, when both the Houses met me there, I did tell you and I told you truly, and that which, God is my witness, is more confirmed to me since, more confirmed to me within a day or two than I knew of then, that the King of Scots hath an army at the waterside, drawn down towards the waterside, ready to be shipped for England. I tell you that I know this from their own mouths and from eye-witnesses of it, and that they are in a very great preparation to attempt upon us.

¹ *Inserted in margin by another hand.*

And whilst that is doing, endeavours from some not far from this place to stir up the people of this town into tumulting, what if I said rebellion, and I hope I shall make it appear to be no better, if God assist me. It is not only that, but endeavours hath been to pervert the Army whilst you have been sitting, yea, and to draw the Army to the state of a question, a Commonwealth, a Commonwealth. If we have an enemy from the other side of the water ready to invade us, [if] we have men listing persons under Charles Stuart's commission, to cavalier, to join with any insurrection that may be here, and our Army endeavoured to be perverted, I beseech you all of you to judge with what hope, or comfort, or possibility of reason indeed, can it be expected that we must not presently run into blood and confusion.

And if this be so, and that I assign it to this cause, that which I do heartily and [assuredly]¹, even to the not assenting to that that you did invite me to, that Advice [which] might be the settling of the nation and might usher in any further advantages that might be for the public good of these nations; if I see this be the effect of your sitting under those carriages, I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I do declare to you here, that I do dissolve this Parliament. Let God judge between you and me.'

¹ 'accourdly' in text.

52.

**Speech to Officers of the Army in the Banqueting-House
at Whitehall, Saturday, Feb. 6, 1657.**

[Substance only.]

‘Gentlemen, we have gone along together, and why we should now differ I know not. Let me now entreat you to deal plainly and freely with me, that if any of you cannot in conscience conform to the now government, let him speak, for now it hath pleased God to put me in a capacity to protect you and I will protect you. And he drank to them, and many bottles of wine were then drunk but no reply made. There was one readable passage, that I omitted in his Highness’ speech, that he did not doubt but it would be made out that some, if not some here present, have been tampering with the Army and the City, which if it shall be made to appear, he made no question but it was treason.’

53.

**His Highness’ speech to the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen,
and the Common Council of the City of London, at
Whitehall, on Friday, March 12, 1657.**

[Substance only.]

‘The Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Common Council of the City being come in full number to attend his Highness at Whitehall on Friday, March the twelfth, they found there many of the Commanders

and Officers of the Army, who were all admitted to his Highness' presence, who in a large speech did represent unto them the great deliverances which God hath vouchsafed to this nation, during the whole course and progress of the late wars, from the violence of their implacable enemies, and their combinations both public and domestic.

He represented unto them how eminently God had owned and prospered him in the great work in which he stood interested for the establishment of righteousness and peace; And at this present he could not but declare unto them the imminent danger in which both the City and the whole nation was like to be involved by reason of the contrivances of Charles Stuart and his party both at home and abroad, who secretly have used the utmost of their endeavours to embroil the nation and this City, the principal place at which they aim, in a new war, which suddenly would appear as soon as ever their intended invasion should take effect.

To make the truth of this discovery more apparent, his Highness insisted that he knew it to be true, and not only by letters of his and the City's adversaries which were intercepted, but by certain intelligence from several other hands beyond the seas of their proceedings, as also by information from the mouths of such persons who had promised to engage themselves to comply and act with them. And to make this yet more manifest, he informed that the Lord of Ormond,—whom by his own party is now called the

Duke of Ormond,—had been in person in this city for three weeks together, being come out of Flanders on purpose to draw all unto him that possibly he could by encouraging and engaging them to forsake all other interests to adhere unto the cause of his master; his Highness did also acquaint them that he having used his uttermost endeavours to promote the cause for which he came, he departed privately from London on Tuesday, March the ninth.

But what was above all, he declared that in order to this invasion Charles Stuart was waiting in Flanders, having got together an army of about eight thousand horse and foot, whom he had quartered in several commodious places near unto the sea-side, as Bruges, Brussels, Ostend and other places; and that withal he had contracted for two and twenty ships, who were in readiness to transport his army, and only waited for the opportunity of some dark night to slip by the English fleet, when the mist had covered the face of the sea; and in being ships of no great burden, he represented that the ships of the enemy had some advantage over our ships, who were of a great burden and drawing much water and therefore not able to ride upon the Flats.

He concluded, that seeing the danger¹ was so apparent and so near at hand, and that the safety and the peace of the city and the whole nation was highly concerned in it, he desired the City to be sensible of it, and laid open to them how deeply it concerned them

¹ 'dangers' in text.

to provide for their own security and the security of the whole nation. He therefore recommended to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and Common Council of the City, there assembled, the settling of their Militia, and that it might be established in the hands of faithful and pious men and such as were well affected to the present government, and such as are free from all discontent and faction; to put the City into a posture of defence that they may be ready to suppress all tumults and insurrections designed by the enemy against the peace and safety of the City.

This and much more to this effect his Highness represented as to the transaction of the affairs of State from the beginning of the wars unto this present, and the happy propagation of the gospel in these three nations.

The citizens departed with great cheerfulness and satisfaction . . . &c.'

54.

Reply to the gentlemen presenting 'The Humble Petition and Representation of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London in Common Council assembled,' at Whitehall, Wednesday, March 17, 165 $\frac{3}{4}$.

[Substance only.]

' . . . his Highness in brief expressed his sense and high esteem of the fidelity and good affection of the petitioners, and desired that his hearty thanks might be returned to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, for the same.'

55.

Speech to the gentlemen presenting (1) The Humble Address from the Commissioners for the Militia of the City of London; (2) The Humble Representation and Petition of the Colonels . . . &c., of the several regiments of the Trained Bands of the City of London. At Whitehall, Friday, April 17, 1658.

[Substance only.]

‘ his Highness was pleased to declare his gracious acceptance of these cordial Addresses and how high a resentment he hath of the fidelity and good affections of the City in this time of danger, threatened by the common enemy.

And before he dismissed them, he was pleased to acquaint them with some things in general, relating to the enemy’s designs from abroad, and the actings of some conspirators here at home; there having been endeavours used to tamper with those that have command in a principal port and garrison to betray it for the landing of Charles Stuart’s forces out of Flanders, from whom several commissions were sent over to the parties, which commissions are ready to be produced.

He intimated also unto them divers other things relating to the enemy’s design, for the promoting whereof many were engaged in several parts and divers of them persons of great quality, with whom a course will ere long be taken and their treasons manifested to the world, an High Court of Justice

being to be erected, by the advice of the Privy Council, for the trial of those persons, according to the Act of Parliament in that behalf made and provided. Diverse other things were spoken by his Highness, but because the persons guilty were not named, the passages are omitted till the particulars upon trial come to be more fully known.'

NOTES

1.

From 'Perfect Occurrences of Parliament . . . , From Friday the 6 of December, till Friday the 13 of the same, 1644,' p. 3, *Bodleian, Hope Adds.* 1134.

'Monday, Dec. 9. This day the Parliament voted that Vote to take off all Members of either House from all offices and places, civil and martial, which in a full House, about 200, it was carried very clear, as we shall shortly see by the Ordinance. Indeed some opposed it and said that it would prove the breaking and ruin of our armies, and we should be all undone by it; and divers other oppositions was made against it by some, and by others as excellently pleaded for. Amongst the rest, Lieutenant-General Cromwell said to this effect:—'

What follows is evidently only a small portion of the speech, as the writer continues, 'With many other most admirable expressions, which he and divers other Members of the House had, far more full and satisfactory than I can here express, &c.' *Perfect Occurrences of Parliament.* Speech 2 was delivered on the same day, at some other time during the progress of the debate. The struggle for the reorganization of the Army was finally concluded by April 3 in the following year. Essex, Manchester, and Waller gave up their commissions, and the Parliamentary Army was then remodelled under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax. The services of Cromwell were retained by Act of Parliament.

Cromwell is mentioned as having spoken in the House of Commons, on Feb. 11, 1628, against Dr. Alabaster's preaching of flat Popery at Paul's Cross. From that time forward we may

assume that he spoke often. He was speaking in the House in Nov., 1640, 'the first time' that Sir Philip Warwick 'ever took notice of him,' and from this gentleman we have received an interesting description of Cromwell's appearance and manner of speaking. During the year 1644 occurred the quarrel with Manchester, a narrative of which has been printed by the Camden Society. This has been omitted from the present book, as not being properly a speech, but it doubtless contains the substance of many speeches made during November. On Dec. 4 of this same year Cromwell delivered a long reply to the charges brought against him by Manchester, absolutely denying them: of this speech no report seems to exist.

An excellent little description of Cromwell, as a speaker, is given by Mr. Richard Fleckno in *The Idea of His Highness Oliver, &c.*, London, 1659.

'For speaking in the House, he had a strong and masculine eloquence, more able to persuade, more he was persuaded of what he said. His expressions hardy, opinions resolute, asseverations grave and vehement, his sentences weighty, always intermixt with sentences of Scripture, to give them the greater weight; with which he so governed and swayed the House, as he had always the leading voice: compared to which the following ones were only as cyphers, in comparison of numbers. Those who find no such wonders in his speeches, may find it in the effect. I have read speeches that have worked strange effects, and you would wonder at their plainness, whilst others you would wonder at their eloquence, have produced no effect at all. 'Tis not the spirit of the thing that's spoke, that gives it it's force and energy, but of him who speaks it; &c.' *Bodleian, Crynes 244.*

2.

From Rushworth, Historical Collections, 1701, Vol. I of the 4th Part (Vol. VII), p. 4.

'Casting off all lingering proceedings, like those of soldiers-of-fortune beyond the sea, to spin out a war.'

Lieut.-Col. T. S. Baldock remarks that, 'In that sentence

lies the difference between the old style and the new, between war as carried on by professional mercenaries and as carried on by nations under arms.' Speaking of Cromwell's method, he adds, 'His was essentially an offensive warfare, both in strategy or tactics.' *Cromwell as a Soldier*, 1899, p. 519. (Fifth volume of The Wolseley Series, edited by Capt. Walter H. James.)

3.

From Clarke MS. 41, fol. 50; Worcester College, Oxford.

On this occasion Cromwell spoke as a Commissioner of Parliament. Active discontent in the Army had prevailed almost as far back as Feb. 16, the day on which the House favourably received a petition from Suffolk requesting the establishment of Presbyterianism as the national religion, the suppression of an accursed toleration, and the disbandment of the Army; the day also on which the King arrived at Holmby House, a prisoner, under the care of Parliament. The discontent was brought to light by the attempt of the House of Commons to execute a scheme, brought forward on Feb. 18, for the disbandment of the Army and the employment of the men in Ireland; but it was much encouraged both before and after by the hostile and uncertain behaviour of the Presbyterian majority towards the military party. On March 21 a Commission was sent down to Saffron Walden, which met Fairfax and his officers. The officers demanded a satisfactory answer to four questions, What regiments were to be kept in pay in England? Who was to command the Army in Ireland? What assurance was there for the payment and subsistence of those who went to Ireland? What satisfaction was to be given in point of arrears and indemnity for the past service in England? On the following day they resolved to embody these questions in a petition, a proposal which seems to have given offence to the Commissioners. The soldiers also drew a petition, finally addressed to Fairfax, asking for indemnity and payment of arrears. On March 27, when the Commissioners reported to

Parliament, they produced a copy of the soldiers' petition, which the House ordered Fairfax to suppress. Two days later the House, alarmed by rumours, passed a Declaration of their high dislike of the Petition, denouncing the promoters as enemies of the State. The House of Lords gave their adherence to this the next day, March 30, and it was then published as a Declaration of the whole Parliament.

Little notice was taken of the alarm and indignation thus created in the Army, and a second Commission was sent on April 15 to arrange with Fairfax for the disbandment and volunteering for Ireland. The four queries were again put forward, and the officers, apparently under the impression that Skippon, who had lately been appointed by Parliament to the command in Ireland, would not go, unanimously called for their old generals: they also appointed a Committee to draw up a representation to Parliament. On April 16 the House passed an Ordinance authorizing the City to appoint a new Militia Committee; a device for getting rid of the Independent members and dismissing the Independent officers in the City Trained-bands. Among the soldiers, now discontented and suspicious, much talk was heard of bringing the King to London and setting him up in opposition to Parliament, a threat which doubtless decided the House on April 21 to send the Newcastle Propositions once more to the King. On April 27 the Commissioners, having completely failed, made their report to Parliament; the officers also sent some of their number with a Vindication¹ of their conduct in supporting the soldiers' Petition. At this moment the Houses voted six weeks' pay on disbandment; and Skippon accepted the command in Ireland. But the mischief already done was past remedy. Representatives of the regiments addressed letters to Fairfax, Cromwell, and Skippon. These were read in the House on April 30, together with the officers' vindication, for the first time, and afforded sufficient proof of discontent and political organization in the Army. Much alarmed the House turned to their military Members for help. Thus it was that Skippon,

¹ *Bodleian, C. 14. 14, Linc.*

Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood went as a third Commission to endeavour the quieting of the Army, and to announce that an indemnity would be brought in and most of the arrears paid at once. On May 7 they met the officers in Saffron Walden Church, and directed them to collect the views of the men. The representatives of the various regiments accordingly chose two men for each regiment, afterwards known as Agitators, who conferred with the officers. On May 15 a second meeting took place between the officers and the Commissioners. On May 16 a third meeting took place, when the officers handed in a *Declaration from the Army*.

This contained a narrative of the late proceedings, a complaint that six weeks' arrears was not enough, and a claim of right to petition Parliament. It will be noticed that in his speech Cromwell announces that the six weeks have been extended to eight.

A narrative of these meetings is to be found in the Clarke MS., together with a letter from the Commissioners to Parliament, and their final report, which affirms the sufferings of the soldiers and justifies the action of the officers. The narrative has been carefully edited by Mr. C. H. Firth for the Camden Society. Mr. Gardiner's *History of the Great Civil War*, vol. iii, from which these few facts are taken, should be read side by side with these earlier speeches.

Cromwell also spoke at the Convention of Officers on Saturday, May 15, but his speech is recorded very briefly in the Clarke MS. Skippon said, that the Commissioners were there to receive from the officers an account of how they had improved their utmost endeavours with the several regiments, and he expressed a hope that they would receive a good account. Cromwell then said, 'that what the Major-General expressed was the sense of them all.' In the account of the proceedings on Sunday, a blank space is left on fol. 39 for another speech of his, which preceded the one here given.

4.

From Worcester College MS. N. 12 (formerly MS. lxvii), ff. 93-105.

When Cromwell spoke at Saffron Walden, on May 16, evidently he supposed Parliament to be willing to redress the grievances of the Army: Skippon certainly had no doubts, if we are to judge by his speeches. Yet it is impossible to believe that they were not aware of the real state of affairs, or that they can have regarded their work otherwise than useless ceremony. The Presbyterian majority made no secret of their intention to procure military support against the Army, both from the City and Scotland. On May 18, before they had received the report from their Commissioners, they appointed a Committee to consider the disbandment of such forces as should not go to Ireland. This hasty action, together with the favourable reception they had given to the King's reply, and their harsh treatment of petitioners, caused fresh agitation in the Army. When, therefore, on May 21, Cromwell read the Report of the Commissioners in the House of Commons, mutual distrust was greater than ever, and the Ordinances passed on behalf of the soldiers were regarded as mere devices for gaining time. On May 25 the House resolved to proceed with disbandment: the Army resisted. The Committee sent down to disband Fairfax's regiment had to return; the seizure of the Army's artillery train, by order of the House, was prevented; the King was removed from Parliamentary custody at Holmby House. On June 3 and 4 the House again changed front and passed a series of votes favourable to the soldiers, at the same time taking steps to procure military support against them. On the 4th, near Newmarket, the soldiers presented to Fairfax *The Humble Representation of the dissatisfactions of the Army*, and on the following day they handed in *A Solemn Engagement of the Army*, which demanded 'the erection of a Council of the Army to be composed in the first place of those general officers who had hitherto sided with the Soldiers, and in the second place of two Commissioned officers, and two private soldiers to

be chosen for each regiment.' In effect this meant the acknowledgement of hostilities between the Army and Parliament, and the creation of a recognized Authority for the former; a fact which became apparent at Triploe Heath on the 10th, when the conciliatory votes of Parliament were *referred* to the newly erected Council. The House thereupon passed warlike resolutions, and the Army marched to St. Albans, producing on June 15 *The Declaration of the Army*. This demanded the purging of the House of corrupt members and the incapacitating of those who had defamed the Army; a date was to be fixed for the dissolution, and a period for the duration of future Parliaments; the right to petition was to be clearly acknowledged. This Declaration was followed by a Charge in the name of the Army against eleven Members. As the Houses seemed inclined to resist, the Army moved to Uxbridge on June 25, repeating the demand for the exclusion of the Members, whereupon the eleven Members withdrew. On June 28 the Army presented its demands to the House, and on July 3 removed to Reading, when it seemed likely that Parliament would assent. The suspicion was strong, however, that Parliament still intended to employ the Scotch, and enlist the Reformadoes in London, and though the House passed an Ordinance for the expulsion of the latter, the general feeling of alarm was so great that the Agitators presented on July 16, to the General Council, a Paper demanding an immediate march to London, with five objects in view:—the sequestration of the impeached Members; the restoration of the old Militia Committee; a declaration against the use of foreign troops; the liberation of prisoners; and the payment of arrears.

The speeches here printed were delivered during the discussion on this Paper. It was decided not to march on London, and on the 17th four requests only were resolved upon at a General Council of War. These referred to the declaration against the use of foreign forces, to the payment of the Army, to the restoration of the old Militia Committee in the City, and the release of prisoners.

As so much discussion took place over the manner of sending

these, it may be of interest to quote the heading to these proposals:—

‘The Proposals delivered to the Earl of Nottingham and the rest of the Commissioners of Parliament residing with the Army, from his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Army. Resolved upon at a General Council of War held at Reading, July 17, 1647, &c.

‘These several ensuing particulars being considered, debated, and resolved upon at a General Council of War (his Excellency being present), we the Commissioners of the Army were appointed, in the name and behalf of them, to present the same to your Lordships and the Commissioners *to be tendered with all speed to the Parliament; which we accordingly offer, and desire your speedy care therein, that so an answer, according to the desire and expectation of the Army, may be speedily returned to these particulars*¹.’

Various *Papers*, between the Commissioners of Parliament and the Army, are to be found in Rushworth, Commons’ Journals, Clarke MS., and pamphlets, but it is by no means easy to arrange them so as to meet Cromwell’s account of the proceedings.

On July 17, Ireton introduced *The Heads of the Proposals*. Cromwell spoke during the debate, but the report in the Clarke MS. is so incomplete as to be almost useless. It can be read in the Camden Society’s publication, already referred to.

P. 5. The passages printed in small type are intended to convey to the reader, in a condensed form, the general character of the discussions and proceedings which occurred between Cromwell’s speeches. If they appear sometimes to be irrelevant, this is probably due to the shortcomings of the MS.

P. 6. ‘Agitators’ were representatives chosen by the various regiments. They were at first known as Commissioners or Representatives. For an investigation of the history of this word, see Gardiner’s *History of the Great Civil War*, vol. iii. p. 60.

Pp. 6, 8, 9, &c. ‘The General’ and ‘his Excellency’ refer to Sir Thomas Fairfax, Commander-in-Chief of the Parliamentary forces.

¹ Bodleian, Ashmole 1006.

P. 9. 'Reformadoes,' a name given to the soldiers disbanded, when the New Model Army was formed in 1645. Large numbers of them had collected in London, and their presence there caused some anxiety to the Army leaders. Not only did their continual demands for payment of arrears add to the general feeling of unrest, but it was always possible that Parliament might be able, by satisfying their demands, to enlist their services against the Army.

P. 9. 'Care taken of all of them only two,' doubtless means 'except two.'

P. 16. Difficulties in the text, here and elsewhere, are apparent. For 'I am sorry I did it,' perhaps we should read 'I am sorry it did.' Two lines further on a slight alteration in the punctuation will entirely change the meaning. 'We are, as our friends are elsewhere, very swift in our affections and desires, and truly I am very often judged for one that goes too fast that way. And it is the property of men that are [thus swift] (as I am apt to be full of apprehensions that dangers are not so real as imaginary) to be always making haste, and more sometimes perhaps than good speed. We are apt, &c.' If read thus, 'We' refers to the Agitators, from whose eagerness Cromwell is anxious to dissociate himself.

5.

From Worcester College MS. N. 12 (formerly MS. lxvii), ff. 1-25 b.

The settlement secured by the acceptance of the Four Requests was of very brief duration. On July 26 the Houses were compelled by mob-violence to recall their concessions. This event led to the retreat of the Independent Peers and Members to the Army, the military occupation of London, and practically the purging of the House in the interests of the Army. Such discord was not wholly to the advantage of the King, who, ever since the sending of the first Commission to Saffron-Walden, had steadily improved his position. Hitherto he had skilfully hesitated between the proposals of Presbyterians and

the Army leaders. Now, however, the decisive victory of the Army compelled him to shew his hand. On or about July 28, the Heads of the Proposals were offered to him; these he rejected. Thereupon, the House, now controlled by the Army, adopted on Aug. 27 the Newcastle Propositions slightly amended. On Sept. 21 the House received the King's answer, expressing his preference for the Proposals and asking for a personal treaty. Many of the Independent party at once decided that it was useless to treat with such a man, and a Vote of No Addresses was only defeated on the following day by the influence of Cromwell and those who thought an understanding still possible. The policy of the King in fact was devoted too much to the pleasure of confounding his opponents; and it has been pointed out that on this occasion he nearly caused a lasting split in the Independent party. That policy, however, cost the King his head, for it not only disappointed the Officers and finally united them in animosity against him, but it largely created that dissatisfaction in the Army which allowed them no other course. The soldiers were intensely irritated by the long delay and the endeavour of their leaders to treat with the King. On Oct. 18 they presented to Fairfax *The Case of the Army Truly stated*, who 'judged that their intentions were honest,' and 'thought it meet it should be presented to the Generall Councell.' After much discussion the Agitators drew up *The Agreement of the People*, as representing their desire for a settlement. Upon this a discussion was held on October 28. The speeches of Cromwell here printed were made on this occasion, and display clearly enough the difficulty of controlling the increasing discontent.

As an example of the abuse Cromwell and Ireton suffered in their endeavours to treat with the King and control the Army, it is interesting to read, *A Call to all the Souldiers of the Armie, by the free people of England*, 1647. This appears to have been written by the Agitators. The preface is addressed to the five regiments who had elected new Agitators shortly before the Case of the Army was presented to Fairfax. It refers throughout to the leading officers in violent terms, warning these regiments not to 'give ear in aniwise to the Syrene-

songs of flatterers, temporisers, neuters, and hypocrits,' and asserting that 'one of the surest marks of deceivers is to make fair, long, and eloquent speeches.' It continues, 'Those of you, that use your thursday General-Councels of late, might have observed so much of this kind of *jugling*, *false-hood*, and *double-dealing*,' . . . 'especially in their debates about the aforesaid *Case of the Army*, now published and subscribed by you. Wherein though the *Generall* was so ingenuous, as to move for the publicke reading thereof, yet the Commissary-Generall *Ireton*, and 'Lieutenant-Generall *Cromwell*, yea, and most of the Court, would and did proceed to censure & judge both it and the Authors and promoters thereof, without reading it, and ever since do impudently boast and glory in that their victory.' The writer then proceeds to observe that, 'It is very wonderfull, that such understanding men, should so soon fall into the same pernicious courses of those late impeached fugitives, their predecessors, *Hollis* and *Stapleton*, seeming to account all other men meer fooles but themselves; . . . but as they were in some degree, so will these in a greater measure, be taught some new lessons of better manners;' . . . 'In the Councell they held forth to you, the bloody *Flagge* of threats and terrors, talk't of nothing but *Faction*, *dividing-principles*, *Anarchy*, of *hanging*, *punishing*, yea, and impudently maintained that your Regiments were *abused*, and the aforesaid *Case* not truly subscribed, and did appoint a Committee *ad terrorem*; and abroad they hold forth the *White-flag of accomodation and satisfaction*, &c.'

'This is certain, in the House of Commons, both he and his Father *Cromwell*, do so earnestly and palpably carry on the King's design, that your best friends there are amazed thereat, . . . and this they do in the name of the whole Army, . . . threaten the House into a compliance with the King your most deadly enemy, and who if things go on thus, will deceive both you and them, yea, and all that act most for him.' As a remedy, the writer says, 'Resist the Devill and he will fly from you,' but this is followed, in the *Call*, by more practical advice, 'Yee can create new Officers, necessity hath no law, and against it there is no plea, the safety of the people is above all law; if ye

be not very speedy, effectuall, and do your work throughly, and not by halves as it hath been, yee and wee perish inevitably.'

An Agreement of the People for a firm and present peace, upon grounds of common right and freedom; as it was proposed by the Agents of the five Regiments of Horse: &c., 1647.

An Agreement of the People, for a firm and present peace, upon grounds of common right.

Having by our late labours and hazards made it appear to the world at how high a rate we value our just freedom, and God having so far owned our cause, as to deliver the enemies thereof into our hands: We do now hold ourselves bound in mutual duty to each other, to take the best care we can for the future, to avoid both the danger of returning into a slavish condition, and the chargeable remedy of another war: for as it cannot be imagined that so many of our countrymen would have opposed us in this quarrel, if they had understood their own good; so may we safely promise to ourselves, that when our common rights and liberties shall be cleared, their endeavours will be disappointed, that seek to make themselves our masters: since therefore our former oppressions, and scarce yet ended troubles have been occasioned, either by want of frequent national meetings in Council, or by rendering those meetings ineffectual; We are fully agreed and resolved, to provide that hereafter our Representatives be neither left to an uncertainty for the time, nor made useless to the ends for which they are intended: In order whereunto we declare,

I.

That the people of England, being at this day very unequally distributed by Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, for the election of their Deputies in Parliament, ought to be more indifferently proportioned, according to the number of the inhabitants: the circumstances whereof, for number, place, and manner, are to be set down before the end of this present Parliament.

II.

That to prevent the many inconveniences apparently arising, from the long continuance of the same persons in authority,

this present Parliament be dissolved upon the last day of September, which shall be in this year of our Lord, 1648.

III.

That the people do of course choose themselves a Parliament once in two years, viz. upon the first Thursday in every second March, after the manner as shall be prescribed before the end of this Parliament, to begin to sit upon the first Thursday in April following, at Westminster, or such other place as shall be appointed from time to time by the preceding Representatives; and to continue till the last day of September, then next ensuing, and no longer.

IV.

That the power of this, and all future Representatives of this nation, is inferior only to theirs who choose them, and doth extend, without the consent or concurrence of any other person or persons; to the enacting, altering, and repealing of laws; to the erecting and abolishing of offices and courts; to the appointing, removing, and calling to account magistrates, and officers of all degrees; to the making war and peace, to the treating with foreign States: and generally, to whatsoever is not expressly, or impliedly reserved by the represented to themselves.

Which are as followeth,

1. That matters of religion, and the ways of God's worship, are not at all entrusted by us to any human power, because therein we cannot remit or exceed a tittle of what our consciences dictate to be the mind of God, without wilful sin: nevertheless the public way of instructing the nation (so it be not compulsive) is referred to their discretion.

2. That the matter of impresting and constraining any of us to serve in the wars, is against our freedom; and therefore we do not allow it in our Representatives; the rather, because money (the sinews of war) being always at their disposal, they can never want numbers of men, apt enough to engage in any just cause.

3. That after the dissolution of this present Parliament, no person be at any time questioned for anything said or done,

in reference to the late public differences, otherwise than in execution of the judgments of the present Representatives, or House of Commons.

4. That in all laws made, or to be made, every person may be bound alike, and that no tenure, estate, charter, degree, birth, or place, do confer any exemption from the ordinary course of legal proceedings, whereunto others are subjected.

5. That as the laws ought to be equal, so they must be good, and not evidently destructive to the safety and well-being of the people.

These things we declare to be our native rights, and therefore are agreed and resolved to maintain them with our utmost possibilities, against all opposition whatsoever, being compelled thereunto, not only by the examples of our ancestors, whose blood was often spent in vain for the recovery of their freedoms, suffering themselves, through fraudulent accommodations, to be still deluded of the fruit of their victories, but also by our own woeful experience, who having long expected, and dearly earned the establishment of these certain rules of government are yet made to depend for the settlement of our peace and freedom upon him that intended our bondage, and brought a cruel war upon us.

Bodleian, C. 14. 14. Linc.

The Agreement of the People, as finally drawn up, should also be read. It is printed in Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents*, p. 270.

6.

From Worcester College MS. N. 12 (formerly MS. lxvii), ff. 26-63 b.

The description of these meetings, as given in the MS., does not always seem correct. The account of this meeting is headed 'At the meeting of the Officers for calling upon God . . .' Adjutant-General Deane's motion (p. 49), however, seems to mark the close of the prayer-meeting, so that this debate, even if it followed immediately, deserves some other title. It was not exactly a meeting of the General Council,

but it consisted of such members as had attended the prayer-meeting, and some Agitators and Gentlemen.

P. 61. Cromwell's remark, 'Servants, while servants, are not included. Then you agree that he that receives alms is to be excluded,' seems to point to some progress having been made in amendments. This is not in the original Agreement, but is to be found in the scheme finally agreed on, 'That the electors in every division shall be natives or denizens of England; *not persons receiving alms*, but such as are assessed ordinarily towards the relief of the poor; *no servants to, and receiving wages from, any particular person*'; see Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents*, p. 274.

7.

From Worcester College MS. N. 12, ff. 67-84.

The refusal of the King to renew his parole at Hampton Court, which happened a day or two before November 1, and his scheming with the Scottish Commissioners, are the two facts which should be kept in mind, when reading the account of this meeting. Ill feeling in the army against the King was rapidly increasing, and those who desired to deprive him of authority were no longer afraid to say so.

P. 64. 'The Case of the Armie Truly stated, &c., humbly proposed by the Agents of the five Regiments of Horse, to their respective Regiments and the whole Army. As it was presented by Mr. Edmond Bear, and Mr. William Russell, Oct. 15, 1647, unto his Excellency, Sir Thomas Fairfax, &c. London, Printed in the Yeare 1647.' *B.M., E. 411 (9); Bodleian, G. Pamph. 1786 (27)* without title-page.

P. 69. Ireton's concluding remarks are difficult to understand. It will be observed that the Agreement of the People does say both when and where Parliament is to meet. Yet Cromwell also says (p. 65) that there is no assurance to the people but that Parliament is perpetual. Perhaps there was a yet earlier draft of the Agreement, which did not contain these particulars; see date on p. 417, l. 2.

8.

From Worcester College MS. N. 12, fol. 88.

9.

From 'Treason Arraigned, in Answer to Plain English'; London, 1660.

Clarendon (ed. 1888, vol. iv. p. 281) gives the following account of this speech:—'That the King was a man of great parts and a great understanding, but that he was so great a dissembler and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted' . . . 'that whilst he professed with all solemnity that he referred himself wholly to the Parliament and depended only upon their wisdom and counsel for the settlement and composing the distractions of the kingdom, he had at the same time secret treaties with the Scots' Commissioners, how he might embroil the nation in a new war and destroy the Parliament. He concluded, that they might no farther trouble themselves with sending messages to him, or farther propositions, but that they might enter upon those counsels which were necessary towards the settlement of the kingdom without having further recourse to the King.'

In the Note to Speech 7, allusion is made to the King's refusal to renew his parole. On Nov. 11 he escaped from Hampton Court and proceeded to the Isle of Wight, apparently undecided whether to go abroad or to join the Scots, or perhaps yet hopeful of gaining some definite advantage out of the confusion at home. On Nov. 16 he sent a message to the Houses, proposing a basis of settlement. On the 25th, the Lords selected four of the Newcastle Propositions to be sent to the King as a test of his sincerity: these were converted into Bills by the Commons, and presented to him on Dec. 24. Two days later, the King having been in communication with the Scottish Commissioners signed the Engagement. On the 28th he dismissed the Parliamentary Commissioners with a definite rejection of the Four Bills. On Jan. 3, when the King's

answer was taken into consideration, a Member moved that the King should be impeached and the kingdom settled without him. After much debate a Vote of No Addresses was carried. Cromwell's speech was delivered during this debate. It denotes, as will be seen, a complete change of front.

The Independent Officers of the Army had made a genuine attempt to settle with the King. Had they persisted, the Army would have been without discipline and anarchy might have resulted. This would not have been any advantage to the King, as is usually assumed, if we are to judge by the rapid spread of extreme political doctrines among the soldiers. But it did mean danger to national institutions, perhaps even to national existence, and it is characteristic of Cromwell that he decided at the very last to stand by the Army with the intention of guiding it if he could for the best, or at least of averting the worst.

10.

From Worcester College MS. N. 12, ff. 147-50.

This speech is headed as follows :—‘ It being for the business of Ireland it was propounded by Col. Whalley, Sir Hardress Waller, and other officers, that the Lt.-General would declare himself, whether he would go or no ?

The Lieutenant-General answered, that as to will, he was upon the appointment of the Parliament ready to submit. That the work was a great work and would require more of the will and minds of men to carry it on, necessary and convenient supplies, eight regiments of foot and 3000 horse.’

A note is then added, apparently written by Cromwell, which refers to another document, now missing :—

‘ The Council of State hath by these gentlemen returned this answer, which in effect was to represent me Commander-in-Chief.’

The MS. then begins with the speech, as given above, ‘ I told them also, &c.’

This meeting ended with an amusing incident. ‘ Col. Hewson

made a learned speech, and instead of addressing himself to his Excellency [Fairfax] said, An't please your Majesty.'

'With Ormond planning an invasion, and with the Royalist gentry ready from Lancashire to Cornwall to welcome him and his Irish followers, the army—or at least its commanders—could have no other thought than to tear up the mischief by the roots in its own soil. It is easy to say that England could never have been conquered by an Irish army, or that the party which endeavoured to profit by such aid would have been condemned to lasting obloquy. It was Cromwell's duty to take care that the danger should never arise. Ormond had without difficulty thrown English regiments from Ireland on the Western coast of England in 1643; and if he now succeeded in mastering Dublin it would be hard to prevent a repetition of the same operation with Irish regiments in 1649.'

'Cromwell's acceptance of the command in Ireland was but one step more in the evolution of the original quarrel. For some time it had been becoming clear that the conflict between King and Parliament for supremacy at Westminster was widening out into a conflict for the supremacy of England in the British Isles. That it was so was owing to the eagerness of Royalists to enlist the forces of Scotland and Ireland in their own behoof, and it is no wonder that Cromwell and his officers had made up their minds that rather than Scotland or Ireland should interfere in the political development of England, an English army should interfere in the political development of Scotland and Ireland.' Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. i. pp. 29, 30.

11.

From 'The Perfect Diurnall,' &c., May 21–28. *B. M.* 195 c, 17–9. Reprinted in *Cromwelliana*.

Commons' Journals, vol. vi. p. 218, records the 'thanks of the House' under the date, May 26, Cromwell being present. If the account given in the Perfect Diurnall be correct, his narrative was made the same day.

The opening months of this year were remarkable for the

rapid spread and popularity of the political and social reforms demanded by the Levellers. Digging and sowing of waste lands, violent manifestoes, petitions, and strange processions added to the national unrest, all of which might have passed without harm had it not encouraged a spirit of mutiny in the army. On April 17, when the regiments were selected to go to Ireland, a large number of soldiers 'who had resolved not to leave England till the demands of the Levellers had been granted—three hundred in Hewson's regiment alone—threw down their arms.' They were cashiered, but on April 24 discontent again broke out, men in Whalley's regiment refusing to march, and not submitting till Fairfax and Cromwell appeared on the scene. For this, a man called Robert Lockyer was shot to death, his funeral being made the occasion of a great demonstration by his admirers. About May 2, Scrope's regiment at Salisbury refused to march further, and on May 6 an outbreak occurred at Banbury. Fairfax and Cromwell hastened to crush the mutiny. On the 9th they reviewed their troops in Hyde Park, when Cromwell addressed the men in a speech, unfortunately lost to us, and then pushed rapidly forward by way of Andover. The mutineers at Salisbury, now joined by others, marched north by Marlborough and Wantage, in the hope of joining Harrison's regiment, and eventually stopped at Burford. Here Cromwell fell upon them suddenly and overcame all resistance. Some of the men were executed, and the few who had escaped were pursued and caught, one of the most notorious, William Thompson, being shot on May 17. With this the rising of the Levellers came to an end. It is fully described in Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. i. pp. 47-61, from which these few facts are taken.

12.

From 'The Perfect Politician': . . . London, 1660. *Bodleian, Wood* 243 (3), pp. 56-8.

Cromwell was not a good sailor, if we are to believe the writer of 'A letter from Windsor,' who, in speaking of his return to England, remarks, 'The General had an indifferent

good passage from Ireland to Bristol, and was not so sea-sick, as when he first went over thither.' *B. M., E. 602 (22)*.

13.

From 'A Message sent from the Lord Hopton, &c.' London, 1650. *B. M., E. 602 (26)*.

Cromwell arrived in London on Friday, May 31, and was received by all the important officials. A similar ceremony took place on his return from Worcester, when the Lord Mayor congratulated him and received a short reply; *B. M., E. 641 (14)*. Unfortunately both these speeches are missing, and this short description is only inserted in the hopes that it may lead to the recovery of a fuller report, and in order to remind readers of the general character and frequency of Cromwell's speech-making.

14.

From 'Memorials of the English Affairs.' London, 1682, pp. 445-6.

'By this time there could be no reasonable doubt that the Scots were preparing to invade England in the name of the King. That an army must be sent against them was beyond question. It was more doubtful who was to be named to the command. Distrust of Fairfax's hesitations conflicted with confidence in his honesty of purpose. Some proposed whilst Cromwell was still in Ireland, that Fairfax should be superseded, and Cromwell, with the title of Protector or Constable, entrusted with the defence of the country. Others desired that Fairfax should be sent to suppress the Royalists in the West, whilst Cromwell marched against Scotland: whilst others again proposed that Fairfax and Cromwell should both go against Scotland in their old capacities of General and Lieutenant-General. All schemes which had been formed for depressing Fairfax and elevating Cromwell at his expense found a determined opponent in Cromwell himself, and for the present were abandoned even by their promoters. On June 12 Parliament voted that both Fairfax and Cromwell should go

on the Northern expedition. Both Fairfax and Cromwell accepted their respective commands, and on the 14th orders were given to draw up a new commission for Fairfax, in the name of the Commonwealth of England, in lieu of the one which had been granted him by the two Houses.' Gardiner's *Hist. of the Commonwealth*, vol. i. pp. 287-8. It seems, however, that about June 22, Fairfax informed the Council that he had scruples, and all attempts to arrange matters having failed, it was resolved to send a Committee to persuade him. This Committee, consisting of Cromwell, St. John, Whitelocke, Lambert, and Harrison, met Fairfax on the 24th and failed. Fairfax resigned his Commission, and on June 26th Parliament voted Cromwell 'Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces raised or to be raised within the Commonwealth of England.'

15.

From 'Flagellum.' London, 1665, p. 130. *Bodleian, Wood* 243 (4).

Probably spoken in January, at one of the meetings referred to in 'The Onely Right Rule for regulating the Lawes and Liberties of the People of England. Presented by way of Advise to his Excellency the L. Generall Cromwell, and the rest of the Officers of the Army, Jan. 28, 1652.' *Bodleian, Pamph.* 95. 'Hearing of your especiall meetings in Councell in order to the setling of the Nation in Peace and Freedome, &c.'

16.

From Tanner MS. 52, fol. 13, *Bodleian*.

Hyde writes to Lord Rochester, Paris, June 13, 1653 (*Clarendon State Papers*), 'Cromwell has replied to some citizens, who petitioned for a Parliament, that their proper business was to stick to their shops and sell their ware as dear as they could.'

The 'Lord General' is now Cromwell, Fairfax having resigned his Commission shortly after the date of Speech 14.

For an account of the Petition presented on this occasion see Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. ii. pp. 229-30.

The Long Parliament was dissolved by Cromwell on April 20, 1653, and he then became 'temporary dictator.' A Council of State, thirteen in number, having been appointed, it was finally decided to summon a small Parliament of Puritan notabilities, to whom the power was to be entrusted under a written Constitution. The Council of State then issued letters to the Independent Ministers asking them to consult with their congregations and select persons. From these names one hundred and thirty-nine were chosen, and writs were issued in Cromwell's name. This Assembly of Nominees met on July 4, 1653; for Cromwell's speech see No. 17.

17.

First part, down to the reading of the Instrument, from pamphlet: 'The Lord General Cromwel's Speech Delivered in the Council-Chamber, Upon the 4 of July, 1653. To the persons then assembled, and intrusted with the Supreme Authority of the Nation. This is a true Copie: Published for Information, and to prevent Mistakes. Printed in the yeer 1654.' Title-page, pp. 26, page of Errata, 4to.

Second part, from 'Original Letters and Papers of State . . . of Mr. John Milton. By John Nickolls, Junr. London, 1743.' p. 114. *Bodleian*, fol. O. 632. This book also contains a slightly different version of the first part of the speech, pp. 106-114.

ANALYSIS OF SPEECH.

Doubtless the reason of this Summons is well known to you all; I have an Instrument to impart to you, and also something to say for our own exoneration.

It will not be amiss to mind you of past events, but I need not look much backward as you well remember them; however, we will go so far back as the Self-denying Ordinance and the New Model.

Pamphlets will give bare facts, but the secret of our success was the assistance of God and our owning a principle of godliness.

I thought to have enlarged upon our successes, that we might recognize God's work and be encouraged; these successes were great and God clearly assisted; consider the events.

But the mere facts are, as I have said, the leanest part; the life and power of them lie in the manifest design of God. I would that I had time to enlarge on this.

I shall now a little remember you the passages since Worcester fight; since then we have dissolved Parliament of necessity, and I wish to say something by way of vindication, though we rake into the business unwillingly.

1651, Sept. 3—1652, Aug. 12. Having friends in Parliament we expressed our views privately; we expected them to act out of ingenuity, but they did not.

Aug. 13, 1652. We petitioned; they told us it was under consideration; nothing done.

Oct. 1652. Dissatisfaction; we demanded meetings, of which we had a dozen, pressing them to act of their own accords so as to preserve their reputation with the nation; we did not prevail.

Jan. 1653. Serious consideration on our part; they took up the Act for a New Representative, not however with the intention of giving the people a choice, but of perpetuating themselves.

This was intolerable, and anxious as we were to preserve their honour, we felt that we must act and not let everything fall to the ground.

They had other faults also:—

- a. The spirit of intrigue was rife.
- b. They cared little for the spiritual welfare of Wales.
- c. They were quite incompetent to deal with the Reformation of the Law.
- d. And, as I said before, they desired to perpetuate themselves.

April 19, 1653. We did not act hastily, but had a further conference with them, at which after much discussion they said, they would suspend further proceedings in their Bill.

April 20, 1653. They endeavoured to carry their Bill in great haste, without qualifications; the Parliament was dissolved.

It remains for me to put the power into your hands, and to offer to you something as to the discharge of that trust.

I shall remember to you that Scripture, *Yet Judah ruleth with God and is faithful among the Saints.*

Judah ruleth with God.

- a. So you rule.
- b. Therefore be just, ruling in the fear of God.
- c. And asking his wisdom, that you may be truthful and merciful.
- d. So shall you do good, not only to those of your own faith, but to all.

Judah is faithful among the Saints.

- a. I think this Assembly is; but yet be tolerant and pitiful.
- b. And care for the Ministry.

Indeed I have but one more word to say, Go on in this work.

- a. Go on with this work; by your coming hither you own it to be God's work.
- b. You are like the people of God, answering his summons.
- c. Let your behaviour be such then, that the people of England will readily support you.
- d. For great things may happen, something is at the door.
- e. You have been called because of your godliness; that is why we hand the power to you.
- f. We think of various Prophecies and wonder what will be the outcome of this.

Truly, I am sorry I have troubled you so long; we shall be ready to serve you, having received great support from all parts of the nation in this action; I shall trouble you no more; but if you will be pleased to have this Instrument read, we shall leave you to your own thoughts and the guidance of God.

A true list of the Little Parliament, by some called Barebones Parliament or the Convention Parliament, is to be found

in *Rawlinson MS.*, A. 78, f. 223. For another printed list, in which the Members are marked by Party, see Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. ii. p. 259.

P. 86. The Letter of Summons is given in the *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 281, with the following short notice of the proceedings: 'Monday, the 4th of July, 1653. . . . This day there was a great Appearance of those persons to whom the Letters were directed, in the Council-Chamber at Whitehall: Where the Lord-General Cromwell declared unto them the Grounds and end of calling them; and delivered unto them an Instrument, in Writing, under his Hand and Seal; and afterwards left them.' The Letter is also to be found in Thurloe's *State Papers*, Whitelock's *Memorials*, and pamphlets, the only differences being in the names, places, and dates.

P. 90, note. The pamphlet, from which this speech has been copied, contains a page of Errata, with the following notice: 'Reader, Thou art desired to correct the following Errata, which through some neglect have escaped the Press.' These corrections have been inserted.

P. 93. This Petition was presented on August 13, 1652, by order of the Council of War at Whitehall on August 12, under the following heading:—'To the Supreme Authority the Parliament of the Common-Wealth of England. The humble Petition of the Officers of the Army.' The Bodleian copy is referenced, *Wood* 276^a, f. 192. It consists of twelve heads
 1. Gospel propagation; appointment, outing, and maintenance of Ministers. 2. Regulation of the law. 3. Removal of prophane, scandalous, and disaffected persons in all places of authority and public trust. 4. Redress of the abuses of the Excise. 5. Just and competent satisfaction for those who have suffered for their constant good affection to the public. 6. Arrears of Officers and Soldiers. 7. 'That all the Articles of War given to the enemy, may be made good, according to the intent of them.' 8. The bringing of the whole revenue into one Public Treasury, with proper management. 9. The appointment, by Parliament, of a Committee of honest men to consider Monopolies, Pluralities, &c. 10. Suppressing of vagabonds and beggars. 11. Provision for such poor men as have

served the Parliament in the late wars, since July 12, 1642. 12. 'That for public satisfaction of the good people of this nation, speedy consideration may be had of such Qualifications for future and successive Parliaments, as tend to the election only of such as are pious and faithful to the interest of the Commonwealth, to sit and serve as Members in the said Parliament.'

The answer of Parliament is printed below:—'The Petitioners being called in, the Parliament read their Petition; and ordered the Speaker to return their hearty thanks to the Officers of the Army, for their great care and love to the public.'

P. 94. In the pamphlet this sentence reads, 'but finding plainly, that the intendment of it was not to give the people that Right of Choise, although it had been, but aseding right either the seeming, to give the people that Choice intended and designed, to recrute the House, the better to perpetuat themselves.'

Milton State Papers, p. 108. 'But plainly the intention was not to give the people right of choice, it would have been but a seeming right; the giving them a choice was only to recruit the House the better to perpetuate themselves.'

Tanner MS. 52 (13) reads 'not to have given the people free choice with fitting qualifications.'

The sentence, as it stands in the pamphlet, can be corrected in many ways; we might read 'although it had been but acceding right.'

P. 97. '*But when it came to other trials, [as] in that case of Wales, which I must confess for my own part I set myself upon, if I should inform [you] what discountenance that business of the poor people of God there had, who had watchings over them, men like so many wolves, &c.*' The Act for the propagation of the Gospel in Wales had been passed by Parliament on Feb. 22, 164⁹/₅₀. From that time forward it had been executed in such a manner as almost to deserve the name of persecution. The project was very dear to the godly military party, but was pursued by Parliament,—whether intentionally or not, it is hard to say,—in such a manner as to completely shatter the

Independent influence in those districts. The disgust of Cromwell and others at these proceedings, supposed by some to be theirs, was undoubtedly one of the main reasons which prompted the dissolution of the Long Parliament.

On March 16, 165 $\frac{1}{2}$, an important petition¹ had been sent to the House, from the 'six Counties of South-Wales.' This refers to the Act of Feb. 22, 164 $\frac{9}{50}$, 'which filled the hearts of your Petitioners and all the Inhabitants of Wales with joy and gladness,' but proceeds to shew 'that since the passing of the said Act, all or most of the Ministers, &c. have been and stand ejected from their Benefices.' The Petition complains that no 'godly schools for the education of the children have been provided,' and that there are but 'four or five itinerary preachers in some of the said Counties appointed.' 'That some persons deriving Authority from the said Act, have for these two years last past, received and disposed of all the profits of the Tythes of Church-livings, and all other Benefices and Impropriations Sequestered within the said six Counties of South-Wales, and County of Monmouth, which are annually worth twenty thousand pounds or thereabouts, out of which, little hath been converted towards the propagation of the Gospel, or accompted for to the State.'

The proceedings that followed are too lengthy to be here described, but the delay and methods of inquiry resorted to by the House did little to improve the situation.

The reference to 'watchings over them, men like so many wolves,' may of course only mean the 'Sequestrators,' but it doubtless refers to the scandalous system of Informers and Deponents, who were encouraged by 'good bargains of the Tythes.' Mercurius Cambro-Britannicus² has much to say on the perambulation of the Counties by 'Itinerant Tobacco-mongers, and others of like quality' to make 'feigned discoveries of the pretended obliquities of the Ministers.'

P. 99. The Declaration is styled, 'A Declaration of the Lord General and his Councill of Officers; Shewing the

¹ *Bodleian, G. Pamph. 1043 (16).*

² *Bodleian, Wood 476 (16).*

Grounds and Reasons for the Dissolution of the late Parliament.' London, 1653, 4to. The Bodleian copy is referenced, *Godwin, Pamph.* 1371 (25). 'And after much debate it was judged necessary and agreed upon, that the Supreme Authority should be by the Parliament devolved upon known persons, men fearing God, and of approved integrity, and the Government of the Commonwealth committed unto them for a time, as the most hopeful way to encourage and countenance all God's people, reform the Law, and administer Justice impartially: hoping thereby the people might forget Monarchy, and understanding their true interest in the Election of Successive Parliaments, may have the Government settled upon a true basis, without hazard to this glorious cause, or necessitating to keep up Armies for the defence of the same. And being still resolved to use all means possible to avoid extraordinary courses, we prevailed with about twenty Members of Parliament to give us a Conference, with whom we freely and plainly debated the necessity and justness of our proposals on that behalf: And did evidence that those, and not the Act under their consideration, would most probably bring forth something answerable to that work, the foundation whereof God himself hath laid, and is now carrying on in the world. The which notwithstanding, found no acceptance, but instead thereof, it was offered, that the way was to continue still this present Parliament, as being that from which we might reasonably expect all good things.'

The Declaration is dated 'Whitehall, April 22, 1653,' and follows this speech closely in arrangement and phrasing.

P. 104. *Clarke MS.* 25, fol. 12, gives the following account: 'His Excellency and several officers of the Army treating on the Tuesday before with many of the best members of Parliament about putting the Government of the Nation into some honest and able persons till a New Representative should be chosen,—for that the Bill resolved to be carried on by Parliament was not for dissolving this Parliament but recruiting it with such as probably would be disaffected, neuters, lawyers, or the like, which would destroy the public interest of the nation,—the Members promised to consider and give in their

judgement thereof the next day, and in the interim would endeavour to keep the Bill from passing, but this being told to most of the Members, the House (in the General's absence) called the next morning for the Bill, and before his Excellency could come had near passed it, contrary to promise as was told them; whereupon, after something said by the General, Capt. Scott marched into the House with part of his company and took the Speaker's Mace, and himself refusing to come out of the Chair, was (modestly) pulled out by a Member of Parliament and Army. And so the Members walked out, and the Parliament was dissolved with as little noise as can be imagined. . . . The people are very calm and pleasant, expecting great and good things to be speedily done for this nation.'

P. 107, l. 15; *Milton State Papers*. 'Truly my thoughts run thus upon this place, that to the execution of judgement, the judgement of truth; for that's the judgement, you must have wisdom from above, and that's pure. That will teach you to execute the judgement of truth, it's without partiality. Purity, impartiality, and sincerity, they are the effects of wisdom, and these will help you to execute the judgement of truth, and then if God give you hearts . . .'

P. 108, l. 7; *Milton State Papers*. 'Moses he could die for them, with himself blotted out of God's book, and Paul could wish himself accursed for his countrymen after the flesh, so full of affection were their spirits unto all.'

P. 117; *Tanner MS.* 52, fol. 23. Notes of this speech end thus, 'You may please to have this Surrender read and we shall leave you to the dispose of yourselves; which being read, he declared that the affairs of England, and Scotland, and Ireland, provisions for the same &c. required there should be no interruption, and forseeing it would require time to digest yourselves into a method, the Council of State is continued until you take further order, and so the affairs of the nation will go on until you be settled. Then was read the power of the Council of State, and his Excellency left the room. And the new Representative did only adjourn and appoint the next day to begin with prayer and to spend the whole day amongst themselves.'

P. 117. The general character of this Instrument is described on p. 5 of 'A Copy of the Letter, &c., Lond. 1656': 'Which being ended, his Lordship produced an Instrument under his own hand and seal, whereby he did with the advice of his Officer, devolve and entrust the Supreme Authority and Government of this Commonwealth into the hands of the persons then met, who or any forty of them are to be held and acknowledged the Supreme Authority of the Nation, unto whom all persons within the same, and the territories thereunto belonging, are to yield obedience and subjection. And they are not to sit longer than the 3 day of November, 1654. Three months before their dissolution they are to make choice of other persons to succeed them, who are not to sit longer than a twelvemonth; but it is left to them to take care for a succession in Government: which Instrument being delivered to the persons aforesaid, his Lordship commended them to the Grace of God.' *Bodleian*, 55 d. 68.

P. 117; 'A Council of State.' A Declaration as to the new Council of State, signed by O. Cromwell, was published the last day of April, 1653. The Bodleian copy is referenced, 22857 d. 2. It states that 'some convenient time being required for the assembling' of the new Parliament, 'it hath been found necessary, for preventing the mischiefs and inconveniences which may arise in the meanwhile to the public affairs, that a Council of State be constituted, to take care of, and intend the peace, safety, and present management of the affairs of this Commonwealth; which being settled accordingly, the same is hereby declared and published, to the end all persons may take notice thereof, &c.' The old Council had been dismissed on the dissolution of the Long Parliament. For an account of this new Council see Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. ii. p. 221.

The dissolution of this Parliament was brought about by the majority of Members, with the Speaker, resigning their powers. This curious proceeding is thus described in the *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 363:—'Monday, the 12th of December, 1653. It being moved in the House this day, That the Sitting of this Parliament any longer, as now constituted, will not be

for the good of the Commonwealth; and that therefore it was requisite to deliver up unto the Lord General Cromwell the Powers which they received from him; and that Motion being seconded by several other Members, the House rose; And the Speaker, with many of the Members of the House departed out of the House to Whitehall; where they, being the greater number of the Members sitting in Parliament, did, by a writing under their hands, resign unto his Excellency their said Powers: And Mr. Speaker, attended with the Members, did present the same to his Excellency, accordingly.' Mr. Gardiner, in his *History of the Commonwealth*, relates the proceedings at some length:—'Accordingly on the morning of Monday, the 12th, those who were in the secret flocked early to the House to secure a majority, whilst their opponents, in ignorance of the course intended to be taken, made no haste to appear in force.' 'There was,' he says, 'a danger as the minutes passed on, lest the Motion should be lost when the House was fuller. There is little doubt that the Speaker had been instructed what to do on the approach of such a contingency. Instead of putting the question in due form, he rose hastily from the Chair, and, followed by some forty members, made his way to Whitehall.' We have, however, Cromwell's own statement, on p. 154, that the parchment was 'signed by very much the major part of them,' and in *Clarke MS.* 25, fol. 151 b, there is 'A Relation of the dissolution of the late Parliament, with the manner and circumstances thereof, &c.,' which should be carefully read. It says nothing about the 'flocking early,' but merely 'On Monday morning they coming together, the first party of whom was, &c.,' and it confirms the Journals, and Cromwell, as to the majority of Members. 'Those of the House being about 80 in number drew up [an] instrument, and subscribing their names delivered it into my Lord General's hands, where they left all their power. The smaller part being about 27 remained in the House where Col. Gough presently came &c.' It adds, however, that 'several of these 27' were of the 80 that resigned up their power. From this it appears that nearly one hundred Members were in the House. The Journals record divisions, at which the attendance varies from 70 to 111, so that taking the average 'working'

numbers, and noting the usually small majorities, we can only conclude, that the attendance on this occasion was large, and the majority quite decisive. As 110 Members voted on the previous Saturday, 'some forty' would hardly answer to the Journals' statement 'being the greater part of the Members sitting in Parliament.'

The 'resignation' appears to have been adopted with a distinct object in view, for 'presently after this several of the eighty Members and Officers of the Army met together in serious debate, and concluded there should be a person who should be under the title of Lord Protector, &c.' This is confirmed in '*A True Narrative of the Cause and Manner of the Dissolution of the late Parliament*, upon the 12 of December, 1653. By a Member of the House then present at that Transaction,' where the writer speaks of 'the whole business being before contrived.' This, however, is the undoubted right of any 'majority,' and the indignation of those left behind in the House seems to have been due, not to the feeling that they had been tricked, but to their knowledge of what was about to be done as to the future constitution of the government, and the unceremonious manner in which they were turned out of the House. The result of this 'serious debate' was the Instrument of Government, by which Cromwell became Lord Protector. The first Protectorate Parliament met on Sept. 3, 1654, and was addressed by Cromwell on the following day. See Speech 24.

18.

From 'A Journal of the Swedish Embassy, in the years 1653 and 1654. Impartially written by the Ambassador.' *MS. Mus. Brit.* 4902, pp. 16-18.

Published by Dr. Charles Morton. A new edition, revised by Henry Reeve, Esq., in two volumes, 1855. London.

19.

From 'A Copy of the Letter from his Excellency, &c. With the several transactions since that time.' Lond. 1656, p. 19. *Bodleian*, 55 d. 68.

The names of the thirteen Members of the Council of State are printed on the next page.

20.

From 'Clarendon State Papers,' *Bodleian*, under the date mentioned.

This speech by the Lord Protector was in answer to an address from Protestant Ministers 'consisting partly of French and partly of Walloones living in and about London . . . to testify unto your Highness our wishes and prayers to Almighty God, that this great power to which he hath brought your Highness may tend to the glory of his great name, the good of the three nations, and of God's Churches in the midst of them, and the comfort of your Highness own soul. The eyes not only of the three nations, but in a manner of the whole world are, and will be upon your Highness. . . . And herein we cannot but observe the wonderful providence of God, who on the one side hath delivered these nations from the danger of Popery and Superstition, whereunto they seemed headlong to be driven. . . . We for our parts cannot forget those encouragements which we have had from your Highness own mouth to go on cheerfully in the exercise of the true Protestant religion, which we profess. We cannot forget those encouragements, nor also your Highness benevolency and beneficence to our Church. We bless God for them . . . through God's grace we doubt not of the continuance of them under the shelter of your Highness protection. And though this be our confidence, yet we think it is our part to crave this your Highness protection.' *Clarendon MS.*, January 5, 165 $\frac{3}{4}$.

21.

From 'Clarendon State Papers,' March 5, 1654, *Bodleian*.

This interesting little fragment is to be found in the letter dated 'Hage, 5. March 1654,' which notes the departure of Nieuport and Youngstall to England for the conclusion of the

Treaty, and says that a clerk of Beverning has arrived with letters from his master, dated Feb. 2^d/₃, who writes 'that he had according the order of the States General of the 19th desired audience of the Lord Protector, which having obtained, he had, in the name of the States, made the compliment of congratulation, which was taken in very good part by Cromwell, who received him with great civility, the whole Council of State being present, all of them being bare-headed, and caused set a chair for him of the same form which he meant to sit in himself, but neither of these was used, Cromwell forbearing to sit, because Beverning did. He writes also that he thought fit to make use of that occasion to touch a little by the way upon the main business, though he did not pretend to enter upon any particulars, until the other ambassadors should come. To which Cromwell also answered in general terms expressing great affection, &c.' Beverning's letter to the States General is printed in Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 93. 'I thought fit because of the good opportunity, besides the compliment of congratulation, to mention something by-the-by of our chief affairs; whereupon I received nothing but a dilatory answer, since my proposition was only relative to the arrival of my confraters. But as to my congratulation, his Highness answered me with many expressions of affection and esteem towards your high mightinesses.' In *B. M. MS. Adds.* 32,093, fol. 324, is a copy of a letter from Thurloe, dated Feb. 16, beginning 'Our Dutch peace sticks yet,' and referring to Beverning's arrival in England 'without any powers or so much as credentials to the Protector, and that therefore he was refused audience.' This defect was soon supplied at his urgent request, and the audience, noted above, granted.

For the Dutch Treaty of Peace see Notes to Speech 24.

22.

From 'Severall Proceedings of State Affaires, &c. From Thursday the 20 of Aprill to Thursday the 27 day of Aprill, 1654,' No. 239, p. 3793. *Brit. Mus. Burney*, 46.

Reprinted in *Cromwelliana*, 1810, pp. 139-40.

‘A Declaration and Petition from the Corporation of Guildford, was (on Tuesday last, Apr. 18, in the afternoon) brought by the Mayor and four of the Aldermen, the Steward and the Bayliff of that town to Whitehall, where they shewed it to one of the Lord Protector’s gentlemen, and intreated his assistance to bring them where they might present it to his Highness; which gentleman courteously brought them to the gallery where the chair is fixed, and desired them to have a little patience, till his Highness was risen from the Council, and they should then have admittance to him. They observed his direction, and after some time of necessary waiting, they were called into the next chamber, &c. Mr. Mayor, and his company (about 10 steps distance from the Lord Protector) made a stand, and his Highness minding of them, left speaking to some other gentlemen, and came towards them, and the Steward in an humble manner, by direction from Mr. Mayor, presented the Declaration and Petition, saying, &c. His Highness took it, went to the window and heedfully read it over, being as followeth, &c.

‘After the Lord Protector had read this petition, his Highness was pleased to give this answer, standing uncovered, which may be truly termed gracious.’ The Petition proceeds ‘... we do believe out of constraint, rather than desire, you did take upon your shoulders that great and ponderous burden of the Government, &c. And we clearly see to our great contentment, by your countenancing of a godly and learned Ministry, and making of honest and learned Judges in the land, you are resolved to uphold religion and justice, &c. We find no cause to doubt but that you will vouchsafe to this ancient Corporation, &c., the injoyment of those privileges which they have a long time had, &c. Lastly, we do presume to make known, that our Minister of *Trinity* and *Maries* parishes is very lately dead, and that that living is in your gift; and therefore we humbly pray your Highness to signify your pleasure to the Lords Commissioners of your Great Seal, or to such persons as are intrusted for that affair, that they may for this turn grant it to such a one as we shall certify to them to be as godly and learned Minister, and to no other man.’

23.

From 'A Journal of the Swedish Embassy ...' *MS. Mus. Brit.* 4902, p. 444.

Whitelocke gives the following account: 'Being come to the outward room, he was presently brought into the Council-Chamber, where the Protector sat in his great chair at the upper end of the table, covered, and his Council sat bare on each side of the table. After ceremonies performed by Whitelocke, and great respect shewed him by the Protector and his Council, Whitelocke spoke to this effect—.' A long speech then follows, which has been printed in his *Memorials*, p. 575, and the writer continues, 'When Whitelocke had ended his speech and a little pause made, the Protector, pulling off his hat and presently putting it on again, desired Whitelocke to withdraw, which he did, and within a quarter of an hour was called in again. The Protector, using the same ceremony as before, spake to him to this effect—.' *MS. Mus. Brit.* 4902, pp. 440 and 444.

P. 125. Whitelocke thus described this *extraordinary mercy* in his speech to the Protector. 'I embarked in your Highness' frigate, near Glückstadt, but was detained for some days in the Elbe by cross winds, and in some danger, but in more when we came into the open sea. But above all, the Lord was pleased to appear for us on the 28th day of June, when our ship stuck upon the sands, above twelve leagues off from the coast of Yarmouth: and when there was no means or help of men for our escape, but we expected every moment to be drowned by the waves, then it pleased God to shew his power and free mercy by his own hand to deliver us, and, after two hours' expectation of death, to reprieve us, to set our ship on float again, and to bring us all in health and safety to your Highness's presence, and to our dear country and relations.' Whitelocke's speech to the Protector. *MS. Mus. Brit.* 4902, p. 443.

Whitelocke's retinue were also asked 'to go in to the Protector and Council, which they did; and the Protector spake to them with great courtesy and favour, bidding them welcome home, blessing God for their safe return to their friends and native country, and for the great deliverances which He had

wrought for them. He commended their care of Whitelocke and their good deportment, by which they had testified much courage and civility, and had done honour to religion and to their country; he gave them thanks for it, and assurance of his affection to them when any occasion should be offered for their good or preferment. They withdrew, full of hopes every one of them to be made great men; but few of them attained any favour, though Whitelocke solicited for divers of them who were very worthy of it.' *MS. Mus. Brit.* 4902, p. 445.

For the character of the Treaty concluded see Notes to Speech 24.

24.

From 'His Highnesse the Lord Protector's Speeches to the Parliament in the Painted Chamber, The one on Munday the 4th of September; The other on Tuesday the 12. of September. 1654. Taken by one who stood very near him, and Published to prevent mistakes. London, Printed by T. R. and E. M. for G. Sawbridge at the Bible on Ludgate-hill. 1654.'

The substance of this speech is also to be found in 'The Speech of his Highnesse the Lord Protector to the Parliament in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, on Munday last, being the fourth of this instant September, 1654. Examined by the Original Copy; Published by Order and Authority. London, Printed for G. Freeman, 1654.' *Bodleian, G. Pamph.* 1363 (3). A short account of the ceremony used on this occasion precedes the speech. We are told that 'his Highness the Lord Protector rode in his coach to the Abbey in a very stately equipage' and that 'his Highness was seated over against the pulpit. After the sermon was done (which was preached by Mr. Th. Goodwin) his Highness went on foot, in the same equipage, to the Painted Chamber, there being a very rich chair wrought and trimmed with gold upon a place up two steps, like a throne, with a table before it, and seats for the Members, and his Highness standing up with his head bare, delivered his mind very excellently at large to the Parliament.' A few passages deserve to be noticed.

P. 128. After 'Truly another reason' compare 'Because the recapitulation of his providences had been largely and wisely held

forth in the Sermon that day, in an allusion to the state of, and dispensations toward the Israelites (the only parallel of God's dealing with us. that he knew in the world), in bringing them out of Egypt through a wilderness, towards their place of rest.'

P. 130. After 'A nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman,' compare 'it being a good interest of the nation and a great one? Every man's hand was upon his loins, and said, We see nothing that bears sway or rule.'

P. 132. After 'he that runs may read it to be amongst us' compare 'And he wished that it were not to be read or seen, and that the grace of God might not be turned into wantonness, &c.'

P. 133. 'Such considerations and pretensions of liberty'; compare 'And such pretensions he said there were of liberty of the subject and of conscience &c. That both these were brought in to patronize such evils.'

P. 135. 'Besides, certainly though many of these men have good meanings'; compare 'Many of these he conceived in his very soul had good meanings, and he hoped this Parliament would (as Jude says, reckoning up the abominable apostacies of the past times) pluck some out of the fire, and save others with fear, making those of peaceable spirits, the subject of their encouragement, and saving others by that discipline God hath ordained to reform miscarriages.'

At the end we read, 'And having spoken about an hour and a half, his Highness drew to a conclusion, presenting them with this observation, that the things before mentioned are but entrances and doors of hope, &c.' 'After which his Highness retired into the place formerly called the House of Lords, and so took barge, and went down to Whitehall by water.'

This speech was translated into Dutch:—'*De particulariteyten van de Oratie van de Heere Protector van de Republijeke van Engelandt, Schotlandt ende Yerlandt, gedaen voor het Parliament van Engelandt, &c. den 13. September, Anno 1654. Uyt het Engelsch overgheset door A. V. Ins' Graven-Hage; by Adriaen Vlack, 1654.*' *Bodleian, Godwin Pamph.* 1356 (32).

In Speeches 24, 25, and 27, attention should be given to the meaning of the word 'government.' It is used in three different senses:—

1. The Instrument or Act of Government with all its articles.
2. The Government *de facto*, in England.
3. Government in general.

The ordinary distinction between 'government' and 'the Government' is thus useless, and an attempt has been made in the old pamphlets to denote the various meanings by capital letters or italics. The result being unsatisfactory, tending to confuse the reader, in this edition the word has been spelt throughout with a small 'g.' Little difficulty will be found in distinguishing the meaning, but in a few cases to make the meaning quite clear it is written out in full:—the [Act of] Government. The same difficulty arises in the later speeches, when the 'government' also refers to the humble Petition and Advice.

'On the 3rd Day of September 1654, being the Day whereon the Parliament was, by Writ, summoned to meet, the same being the Lord's Day; divers Members met at the Abbey Church in Westminster, at the Sermons there: And, after the Sermon in the Afternoon, about Four of the Clock, they came from thence to the Parliament-House, to the Number of about Three hundred: And, after a while, a Message was brought, That his Highness the Lord Protector was come to the Painted Chamber, and desired the Presence of the Members: Who thereupon went from the House to the Painted Chamber: Whither being come, his Highness, standing bare, upon a Place erected for that Purpose, declared to this Effect: That this being the Lord's Day, which was not to be taken up in Ceremonies, his Highness desired them to meet at the Abbey To-morrow at Nine of the Clock, at the Sermon; and from thence to come again unto the Painted Chamber, where he would communicate unto them some things, which he held necessary for the good of the Commonwealth.

And so the Members departing, came again to the House: And adjourned till To-morrow, Eight of the Clock; Mr. Gewen standing in his Place, and, by general Consent, the House pronouncing the Adjournment.

Monday, the 4th of September, 1654. The House met

together at Eight of the Clock; and went from thence to the Abbey: Where his Highness the Lord Protector came, attended with the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Commissioners of the Treasury, and divers of the Council, being also Members of the Parliament; and there heard a Sermon preached by Mr. Thomas Goodwyn: And from thence came into the Painted Chamber: Where his Highness made unto them a large Narration of the Grounds of their being called together, and the Weightiness of their Employment: And then desired them to repair to their House, and exercise their own Liberty in choosing their Speaker, that they might lose no Time from their great Business.'—*Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 365.

The Parliament called together on this occasion is known as the First Protectorate Parliament. It was not a success, spending much time in debating 'by what authority they came thither, and whether that which had convened them had a lawful power to that purpose.' On September 12 his Highness expostulated with them, and a large number of Members refusing to sign a Recognition of the Government, they were excluded from the House. As this did not improve matters, his Highness dissolved the House on Jan. 22, 1655, and forthwith proceeded with measures necessary to secure the peace of the kingdom.

P. 141. Referring to Whitelocke, who has left an account of his mission, under the title of 'A Journal of the Swedish Embassy.' In the printed edition, 1855, vol. ii. p. 168, will be found the full text of the treaty, which is dated April 11, 1654. Its main object is to secure 'a good, sincere, firm peace and correspondence between the Queen and the Kingdom of Sweden and the Lord Protector, &c.'; and the 'aforesaid shall, as much as in them lie, endeavour to take care, with all candour and affection, to remove all the hindrances which hitherto have interrupted the liberty of navigation and commerce between both the nations.'

P. 142. Early in 1651 Frederick III of Denmark had shewn marked favour to our Dutch trade rivals, by allowing them to commute the Sound dues, a concession which was to be with-

held from other nations, and which caused much ill-feeling in England. Of the war which broke out in the following year, Mr. David Hannay writes that it 'is indeed hardly worth mentioning, except on the ground that it illustrates a chronic difficulty of the English Government in all naval wars. We drew a great part of our stores from the Baltic. Pitch and tar, hemp for cordage, and pine wood for spars and planking, as well as part of the oak used in our ships, were supplied by Scandinavia and Russia. At a later period the American plantations entered into competition with the Baltic trade, but in the middle of the seventeenth century these indispensable articles were obtained only in the North of Europe. If they were cut off by the hostility of the Northern Powers, the task of fitting a fleet for sea was rendered almost impossible. The sense that they had it in their power to inflict so heavy a blow upon us, rendered the kingdoms of the North occasionally somewhat exacting.' *A Short History of the Royal Navy*, p. 265.

The detention of an English supply convoy in the Sound by the Danes gave rise to hostilities, a squadron being sent to release them. This squadron was scattered by a gale and returned; negotiations followed, and Denmark was finally included in our treaty of peace with Holland. The question of dues was settled by a treaty between the Protector and Frederick III, in which it was stipulated that English vessels should pay no dues higher than those charged on other nations, except the Swedes who were exempted from payment. Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. ii. pp. 380-1.

P. 142. The Dutch war began in May, 1652. The treaty of peace was finally ratified on April 19, 1654, and proclaimed amidst great enthusiasm on April 26. It is impossible here to discuss the cause of this war, sufficient to say that keen trade rivalry, resulting in the passing of our Navigation Act; jealousy of the Dutch privileges in the Sound; disputes as to fisheries; the question of 'striking the flag'; memories of Amboyna; political anxiety as to the position of the Prince of Orange and the Stuarts in Holland; these difficulties, and many others, made war inevitable. The treaty is described by Professor Gardiner, vol. ii. p. 370. 'A conjunction for the defence of the

liberties of either people was announced; and a stipulation that either State should lend aid when required by the other at the expense of the party making the demand, and should expel from its borders the enemies or rebels of the other.' Arbitration for our losses in the East Indies and the Sound was agreed to, and also for Dutch losses. An Exclusion Act against the House of Orange was passed by the States General.

P. 143. This treaty gave 'to English merchants the right of commercial intercourse with Portugal, coupled with the assurance that they would never be called on to pay duties higher than those which had been authorized on March 10th in the current year. It also freed them from the interference of the Inquisition in their ships and houses, and opened to them the trade of all the Portuguese territories beyond the sea:—Brazil, from which the last Dutch garrisons were in this year cleared away, St. Thomas in the West Indies, Guinea in Africa, and the dwindling remains of Portuguese sovereignty in the East Indies were specifically mentioned. The two points of religion and trade were precisely those which Oliver had attempted in vain to secure from Spain.' Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. ii. p. 387.

25.

From 'His Highnesse the Lord Protector's Speech to the Parliament in the Painted Chamber, on Tuesday the 12th of September, 1654. Taken by one who stood very near him, and Published to prevent mistakes. London, Printed by T. R. and E. M. for G. Sawbridge at the Bible on Ludgate-hill, 1654.'

This speech was translated into Dutch:—'Tweede Oratie van de Heere Protector van het Parliament van Engelandt, Schotlandt, ende Yerlandt. Gedaen inde geschilderde Camer den 22. September, 1654, &c.' *Bodleian, Godw. Pamph.* 1356 (33).

P. 150. The General Council of the Army debated concerning the setting a period to Parliament on January 6, 1648⁸. A very short account of this meeting gives us the substance of Cromwell's views at that time. 'Lieut.-General. That it will be more honourable and convenient for them to put a period to themselves.' *Worc. Coll. MS.* 67, fol. 134.

P. 160. The Instrument of Government, XII. 'That at the day and place of elections, the Sheriff of each county, and the said Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other head officers within their cities, towns, boroughs, and places respectively, shall take view of the said elections, and shall make return into the Chancery within twenty days after the said elections, of the persons elected by the greater number of electors, under their hands and seals, between him on the one part, and the electors on the other part; wherein shall be contained, *that the persons elected shall not have power to alter the government as it is hereby settled in one single person and a Parliament.*' Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents*, p. 318.

P. 61. The Instrument of Government, I. 'That the supreme legislative authority of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions belonging, shall be and reside in one person, and the people assembled in Parliament; the style of which person shall be the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.' *Const. Doc.* p. 314.

P. 165. The Instrument of Government, IV. 'That the Lord Protector, the Parliament sitting, shall dispose and order the militia and forces, both by sea and land, for the peace and good of the three nations, by consent of Parliament; and that the Lord Protector, with the advice and consent of the major part of the Council, shall dispose and order the militia for the ends aforesaid in the intervals of Parliament.' *Const. Doc.* p. 314.

P. 166. The Instrument of Government, XXVII. 'That a constant yearly revenue shall be raised, settled, and established for maintaining of 10,000 horse and dragoons, and 20,000 foot, besides £200,000 per annum for defraying the other necessary charges of administration of justice, and other expenses of the Government, which revenue shall be raised by the customs, and such other ways and means as shall be agreed upon by the Lord Protector and the Council, and shall not be taken away or diminished, nor the way agreed upon for raising the same altered, but by the consent of the Lord Protector and the Parliament.' *Const. Doc.* p. 322.

P. 171. The Instrument of Government, XXIV. 'That all Bills agreed unto by the Parliament, shall be presented to the Lord Protector for his consent; and in case he shall not give his consent thereto within twenty days after they shall be presented to him, or give satisfaction to the Parliament within the time limited, that then, upon declaration of the Parliament that the Lord Protector hath not consented nor given satisfaction, such Bills shall pass into and become laws, although he shall not give his consent thereunto; provided such Bills contain nothing in them contrary to the matters contained in these presents.' *Const. Doc.* p. 321.

26.

From 'Clarendon State Papers,' *Bodleian*, under the date mentioned.

27.

From 'His Highness Speech to the Parliament in the Painted Chamber, at their Dissolution, upon Monday the 22d of January, 1654. Published to prevent mistakes, and false Copies. London, Printed by Henry Hills, Printer to His Highness the Lord Protector, and are to be sold at the Sign of Sir John Oldcastle near Py-corner. MDCLIV.'

At the end of this pamphlet is the following notice:—
'Monday, 5th Febr. 1654. At the Councill at Whitehall. Ordered, That no person or persons whatsoever presume, at their perils, on any pretence whatsoever, to print or reprint, either in part or whole, His Highness Speech to the Parliament in the Painted Chamber, at their Dissolution on Monday the 22nd. of January 1654, other than Henry Hills, Printer to His Highness, and such as he shall employ and appoint in that behalf. W. Jessop, Clerk of the Councill.'

'Jan. 27, 165⁴/₅ . . . This day his Highnesse speech was passed in order to the presse, it being transcribed out of short [hand]. but it wilbe Thursday next before it bee published.' *Clarke MS.* 27, fol. 37 b.

'Westminster, February 3, 165⁴/₅.—His Highnesse nott having

time to peruse his speech and correct itt for the presse is the reason why itt is nott yett published . . .’ *Clarke MS.* 27, fol. 43. See *The Clarke Papers*, by C. H. Firth, vol. iii. p. 21.

P. 174. ‘Your own Declaration.’ It will be remembered that at the end of Speech 25 the Members were required to sign a recognition of the government. On Sept. 14, the House appointed a Committee to prepare something in reference to the Subscription, for their further consideration. The Committee reported as follows:—‘The Parliament doth Declare, That the Recognition of the Government, by the Members of this Parliament in the words following; viz.

“I do hereby freely promise and engage, to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not, according to the Tenor of the Indenture, whereby I am returned to serve in this present Parliament, propose, or give my consent, to alter the Government as it is settled in one Person and a Parliament,”

Doth not comprehend, nor shall be construed to comprehend therein, the whole Government, consisting of Forty-two Articles; but that the same doth only include what concerns the Government of the Commonwealth by a single Person and successive Parliaments.

Which was several times read; and upon the Question, was resolved; and passed. Ordered, by the Parliament, That this Declaration be forthwith printed and published.’ *Commons’ Journals*, vii. p. 368. On the following day the House sent for the Original Record of the Government and proceeded as usual to discuss the ‘matter of Government’ day by day.

P. 179. The Instrument of Government. VII. That there shall be a Parliament summoned to meet at Westminster upon the third day of September, 1654, and that successively a Parliament shall be summoned once in every third year, to be accounted from the dissolution of the present Parliament.

VIII. That neither the Parliament to be next summoned, nor any successive Parliaments, shall, during the time of five months, to be accounted from the day of their first meeting, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent. *Constitutional Documents*, p. 315.

P. 190. The Instrument of Government. XXXV. That the Christian religion, as contained in the Scriptures, be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations; and that, as soon as may be, a provision, less subject to scruple and contention, and more certain than the present, be made for the encouragement and maintenance of able and painful teachers, for the instructing the people, and for discovery and confutation of error, hereby, and whatever is contrary to sound doctrine; and until such provision be made, the present maintenance shall not be taken away or impeached.

XXXVI. That to the public profession held forth none shall be compelled by penalties or otherwise; but that endeavours be used to win them by sound doctrine and the example of a good conversation.

XXXVII. That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ (though differing in judgement from the doctrine, worship or discipline publicly held forth) shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in, the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion; so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts: provided this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such as, under the profession of Christ, hold forth and practise licentiousness. *Constitutional Documents*, p. 324.

P. 192. 'A True State of the Case of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging; In reference to the late established Government by a Lord Protector, and a Parliament, &c. London, Printed by Tho. Newcomb, over against Baynards-Castle, in Thames-street, 1654.' *Bodleian, Pamph.* 99; *B. M., E.* 728 (5).

P. 204. See Instrument of Government, XXVII, already quoted.

28.

From Clarke MS. 27, fol. 44; Worcester College, Oxford.

Note should be taken here of a speech made on Feb. 13, 1654. 'This day his Highness made a large and satisfactory speech to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and many of the Common Council,

of the real ground of this new intended war, and afterwards read Charles Stuart's letter and many material depositions for proving thereof, as also Major Wildman's draught of a Declaration (shewing the grounds of the same) when he was taken Saturday last, dictating of it to his clerk, for which he is now committed to Chepstow Castle, and will probably loose his life. A Commission was likewise read giving power to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Major-General Skippon, and others, to secure, disarm, and raise forces for defence of the City, but not any of these to be drawn forth without their own consents, to which they did willingly agree.' *Clarke MS.* 27. 'The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, and sixty of the Common Council of London by the Protector's order came to him at Whitehall, where he acquainted them with the danger of the conspiracy, the conspirators, and what they had discovered; wished them to be careful to preserve the peace of the City, gave them a Commission for a Committee of Militia in London, and to raise forces to be under the command of their old faithful Major-General Skippon.' *Memorials of the English Affairs*, p. 599.

29.

From 'Certain Passages of Everydayes Intelligence,' *Bodleian*, *Hope Adds.* 99.

'14 July, 1655. Yesterday his Highness sent for all the Judges to Whitehall, where he gave them a very learned charge before they entered upon their several circuits, &c.' *Clarke MS.* 27, fol. 103 b.

30.

From 'Memorials of the English Affairs,' 1682, p. 610.

'The Banqueting-House was richly hung with Arras, multitudes of Gentlemen in it, and of ladies in the galleries. The Ambassador's people were all admitted into the room, and made a lane within the rails in the midst of the room. At the upper end upon a foot-pace and carpet, stood the Protector with a chair of state behind him, and divers of his Council and Servants about him.

The Master of the Ceremonies went before the Ambassador on the left side, the Ambassador in the middle between White-locke and Strickland, went up in the open lane of the room; as soon as they came within the room, at the lower end of the lane, they put off their hats. The Ambassador a little while after the rest, and when he was uncovered, the Protector also put off his hat, and answered the Ambassador's three salutations in his coming up to him, and on the foot-pace they saluted each other as usually friends do: And when the Protector put on his hat, the Ambassador put on his, as soon as the other.

After a little pause the Ambassador put off his hat, and began to speak, and then put it on again; and whensoever in his Speech he named the King his Master, or Sweden, or the Protector, or England, he moved his hat, especially, if he mentioned anything of God or the good of Christendom, he put off his hat very low; and the Protector still answered him in the like postures of civility. The Ambassador spake in the Swedish language and after he had done, being but short, his Secretary, Berkman, did interpret it in Latin to this effect,' &c.

Many other passages of compliment and civility were in his expressions; and after his interpreter had done, the Protector stood still a pretty while, and putting off his hat to the Ambassador, with a carriage full of gravity and state, he answered him in English to this effect....' *Memorials of the English Affairs*, p. 610.

31.

From 'The Life of Oliver Cromwell,' 1724.

'About this Time, a Design was form'd by the Protector, of settling the Jews again in this Nation; and Manasseh Ben-Israel, a great Rabbi, came over and made his stated Proposals, and had a Conference upon them, for re-admitting that People to exercise Trade and Worship in England. The Protector, on this Occasion, sent for divers Ministers of the Gospel, and laid those Proposals before them; and at the same time with great earnestness declared his Opinion, "That" &c.' *The Life of Oliver Cromwell*, 1724, p. 299.

Some apology must be made for including this fragment

amongst the speeches, and giving it an approximate date. An account is here added which is contemporary, though the substance is much the same.

'A Narrative of the late proceeds at White-Hall concerning the Jews &c. London, 1656,' says that the debates began 'the 4th of Dec. last and so on two or three days weekly to the 18th.' A short account is given of the arguments of the various speakers, and on page 9 we read, 'All having been heard, the *Ld. Protector* on the 18 of Decemb., and before, *professed, that he had no engagement to Jews, but only what the Scripture holds forth; and that he had hoped by these Preachers to have had some clearing the case, as to conscience. But seeing these agreed not, but were of two or three opinions, it was left the more doubtful to him and the Council. And he hoped to do nothing herein hastily or rashly; and had much need of all their prayers, that the Lord would direct them, so as may be to his glory, and to the good of the Nation.* And thus was the dismissal of that Assembly.' Again on p. 10, 'The Protector shewed a favourable inclination towards our harbouring the afflicted Jews; (professing he had no engagements but upon Scripture grounds) in several Speeches that he made.' And p. 12, after recounting the proposals, 'The Protector when the Proposals had been read, said, if more were proposed than it was meet should be granted: it might now be considered, 1. Whether it be lawful at all to receive in the Jews. 2. If it be lawful, then upon what terms it's meet to receive them.' *Bodleian, Wood 637 (3).*

'Dec. 1655. Divers Ministers sent for by the Protector, whom he acquainted with the Proposals made by Manasseth Ben Israel the Jew, and referred them to the Consideration of the Ministers and others.' *Memorials of the English Affairs*, p. 618.

32.

From Clarke MS. 28, fol. 5; Worcester College, Oxford.

'March 5. This afternoon the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and divers of the Common Council, having been sent for by his Highness, were admitted to his presence, to whom his Highness

made a speech ; wherein he was pleased to signify the reasons that induced him to appoint Major-Generals in the several divisions of Counties ; it being hoped, that it would prove a good means to preserve the peace of the Commonwealth, and to suppress vice and wickedness, and encourage godliness and virtue. And that having found the endeavours of the Major-Generals very much conducing to those ends in the Country, his Highness believed they would be no less effectual in the City of London, and therefore had appointed Maj.-Gen. Skippon to be their Major-General, to be assisted by Sir John Barkstead, Major-General of Middlesex, and Lieutenant of the Tower, and some other persons who are to act along with them, in which his Highness declared, that all respect should be had to the preservation of the immunities, privileges, and civil government of the City.' *Merc. Pol.*, Feb. 28-March 6.

'March, 1655. The Mayor, Aldermen, and divers of the Common Council of London, being sent for came to the Protector, who told them the reason of his appointing the Major-Generals in the several Counties, as a means to preserve the Peace, to suppress wickedness, and to encourage Goodness, and having found the good effects hereof in the Counties, he thought fit to appoint Major-General Skippon for the same end in the City ; and that all care should be had of their Immunities, and Government.' *Memorials of the English Affairs*, 1682, p. 622.

33.

From Clarke MS. 28, fol. 69b ; Worcester College, Oxford.

34.

From B. M. MS. Add. Ayscough, No. 6125, ff. 34-60b. The substance is given very shortly in Clarke MS. 28, fol. 72b.

The text of this speech is evidently far from complete, but for the present we must rest content, as the MS. in the British Museum seems to be the only full report in existence. The small quarto that contains it, is a collection of speeches, in

shape, binding, and writing, not unlike the Clarke MSS. now in Worcester College Library. The speech was first edited, with others, in 1828, by Mr. J. T. Rutt, and added to his 'Diary of Thomas Burton,' whence most of them were transferred to Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*.

'Dr. Owen preached, and the Protector made a speech of almost 3 hours, which will be printed.'—*Calendar of (Domestic) State Papers*, p. 113.

'Wednesday, the 17th of September, 1656. On Wednesday the 17th of September, 1656, being the First Day of the Meeting of this Parliament, His Highness the Lord Protector, attended by the Lord President, and the rest of his Highness's Council, and other Officers of State, came to the Abbey Church in Westminster; where also the Members of Parliament met; and heard a Sermon, preached by Doctor Owen, Dean of Christ Church, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford; and from thence his Highness came to the Painted-Chamber, where most of the Members of Parliament were present: To whom his Highness communicated the Occasion of Calling this present Parliament. After which the Members repaired to the House; at the Door whereof, some Persons, by his Highness' Appointment, attended, and received, of every Member, a Certificate, from the Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery, that he was returned to serve in this present Parliament, and approved by the Council; and thereupon he was admitted into the House.' *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 423.

P. 216. See 'A Declaration of His Highnes, by the advice of his Council; setting forth on the behalf of this Commonwealth, the justice of their cause against Spain. Friday the 26th of October, 1655, &c. London, Printed by Henry Hills and John Field, Printers to His Highness, 1655.'

'The just and most reasonable causes and grounds of our late enterprise upon some Islands possessed by the subjects of the King of Spain in the West Indies, are very obvious to any that shall reflect upon the posture wherein the said King and his people have always stood in relation to the English Nation in those parts of America, which hath been *no other than a continual state of open war and hostility*; at the first most

unjustly begun by them, and ever since in like sort continued and prosecuted, contrary to the Common Right and Law of Nations and the particular Treaties between England and Spain.' The Declaration refers to the war as 'the prosecution of a war *already in being*' and asserts that the 'absurd pretensions' of the Spaniards are based only on the 'Pope's donation, and their first discovering some parts of the West-Indies.' The origin of this hostility is then briefly referred to, as in Cromwell's speech, and various acts of aggression recited.

P. 216. 'For their messenger was murdered.' Anthony Ascham, killed in Madrid, June 5, 1650. See Clarendon's *History*, xiii. 8-10.

P. 224. See 'A Declaration of his Highnes, by the advice of his Council, shewing the reasons of their proceedings for securing the peace of the Commonwealth, upon the occasion of the late insurrection and rebellion. London, 1655.' This refers at length to the endeavours made to reconcile the King's party, in spite of which 'they have notoriously manifested it to the consciences of all men that they do not only retain their old principles, and still adhere to their former interest in direct opposition to the Government established, but have been all along hatching new disturbances, and endeavouring as well by secret and bloody assassinations, as by open force, to introduce the one, and overthrow and subvert the other.' A full account is then given of the late insurrection and of the parties employed. 'And they found John Wildman, and some others of the like principles, most fitting instruments for managing that part of crying for Liberty &c.' 'And Wildman had brought his part to such maturity, that he wanted very little but the open declaring himself in arms, having in effect finished the Declaration which was to be published on that occasion, as appears by the Declaration itself; but it pleased God to prevent it by his sudden and unexpected apprehension, with his Declaration before him, just as he was dictating to his servant the conclusion thereof' (see p. 229). The Declaration continues: 'Upon these grounds, we have been necessitated to erect a new and standing Militia of Horse in all the counties of England, under such pay as might be without burthen to the

peaceable and well-affected, and be a fitting encouragement to the officers and soldiers, that they might not go to war at their own charge; and therefore we have thought fit to lay the burthen of maintaining these forces, and some other public charges which are occasioned by them, upon those who have been engaged in the late wars against the State, having respect notwithstanding therein to such of them, as are not able to undergo that charge.'

Other Declarations against Cavaliers were also issued in the following year, before the meeting of the first Protectorate Parliament.

P. 225. 'And he that gave our instructions lost his life for it.' Henry Manning, killed near Cologne, Dec. 1655. See Clarendon's *History*, xiv. 138-44.

P. 226. 'He that watched over that.' Sir John Barkstead, the Lieutenant of the Tower of London.

P. 232. For preserving the peace of the Commonwealth, England was divided into districts under Major-Generals; 'faithful and able persons,' says the *Clarke MS.*, who had under their command forces 'in the nature of a standing militia.' Their instructions are published. 'They are to endeavour the suppression of all tumults, insurrection, rebellion, as also invasion; they are to see that all Papists are disarmed; they are to make highways and roads safe for travellers.' 'They are to have a strict eye upon the conversation and carriage of all disaffected persons within the several Counties, &c., as also that no Horse-races, Cock-fightings, Bear-baitings, Stage-plays, or any unlawful assemblies be permitted within their Counties. Forasmuch as treason and rebellion is usually hatched and contrived against the State upon such occasions, and much evil and wickedness committed. They... shall labour to inform themselves of all such idle and loose people that are within their Counties, who have no visible way of livelihood, nor calling or employment, and shall consider by what means they may be compelled to work, or be sent out of the Commonwealth. As also how the poor and impotent of those Counties may be employed and better provided for, than now they are, and certify the same to us and the Council for our further

direction thereupon. And in the meantime, shall endeavour as far as in them lies, that the Laws in such cases, made and provided, be put in effectual execution.' They are also by their carriage and conversation to promote Godliness; they are to see to the execution of the laws against various offences, such as drunkenness and blasphemy, and to the execution of the Ordinance for ejecting Scandalous Ministers and Schoolmasters, and to report to the Council from time to time.

P. 241. 'The basis of the Protector's plan for the reorganisation of the Church was the scheme which John Owen had presented to the Long Parliament in 1652. On March 20, 1654, Cromwell issued an ordinance "for the approbation of public preachers," which appointed thirty-eight commissioners, lay and clerical, to sit permanently in London and examine into the qualifications of all candidates for livings. Their business was to certify that they found the candidate "to be a person for the grace of God in him, his holy and unblamable conversation, as also for his knowledge and utterance, able and fit to preach the Gospel," and without obtaining this certificate no one was in future to be admitted to a benefice. The Commissioners were not empowered to impose any doctrinal tests, and it was expressly declared that approbation by them "is not intended nor shall be construed to be any solemn or sacred setting apart of any person to any particular office in the ministry." All the "Triers" undertook to do was to see that none but fit and proper persons should receive "the public stipend and maintenance" guaranteed by the State.

After provision for the appointment of the fit came provision for the elimination of the unfit. A second ordinance, issued in August, 1654, appointed local commissioners in every county to remove scandalous and inefficient ministers and schoolmasters within its limits. Amongst the reasons which justified ejection were included not merely immoral conduct or Popish and blasphemous opinions, but disaffection to the government and the use of the Prayer-book. In September, the work was completed by a third ordinance for the union of small and the division of large and populous parishes.' Firth's *Oliver Cromwell*, pp. 358-9.

35.

From Clarke MS., fol. 117 b; Worcester College, Oxford.

‘Which being done, Mr. Speaker attended with the whole House, the Clerk with the Bills in his Hand, and the Serjeant with his Mace, going next and immediately before him, went up to the Painted Chamber: Where his Highness, attended with the Lord President and the rest of the Council, the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, the Lord Chief Justice of the Upper Bench, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, and the rest of the Judges, was expecting.’

‘The Speaker addressed himself to his Highness, and gave an Account of the Employment of the House during their sitting: And that many Bills for the Publick Good were upon the Anvil; some were completed, whereof some Publick; of which he made a particular Relation,’ &c.

‘After which, the Clerk read the Title of the First Bill, which was presented, being intituled, An Act, That the Passing of Bills shall not determine this present Session of Parliament: Which Bill his Highness caused to be read: And, upon reading thereof, declared to the Clerk his consent to the same, in these Words, “We do consent:” And thereupon the Clerk made an Entry thereof on the Bill, in these words, “The Lord Protector doth consent:” And read the same.’ *Commons’ Journals*, vol. vii. p. 460, where also a complete list of the Bills, public and private, is given.

36.

From B. M. Lansdowne MS. 755, fol. 40.

Miles Sindercombe engaged in a plot to burn Whitehall, and kill his Highness in the confusion. He was caught in the attempt, whereat much rejoicing. ‘Resolved, That this House do wait upon his Highness the Lord Protector, to congratulate with his Highness for this great Mercy and Deliverance’ (*Commons’ Journals*, vol. vii. p. 481), on which day ‘Munday, the

House spent some time in hearing all the transactions and depositions concerning the late plott at Whitehall read, and thereupon ordered, that Friday come fortnight should be observed as a day of thanksgiving for the discovery thereof before it was executed upon his Highness person. It was thereupon moved, that in respect his Highness person was in such continuall danger by the wicked designes of disaffected persons, that for the better security of the nation a kingly and hereditary government might be speedily settled. This was for some time debated, but came to no result. . . . Fryday [Jan. 23] the Speaker with above 200 of the Members attended his Highness at Whitehall, and as they were goeing up into the banquettinge house part of the stayrecase brake, and down fell many of the Members, vizt. the Lord Richard Cromwell, whose shoulder was much bruised; Mr. Sollicitor Generall Ellis, one of whose legges is broken; Lieutenant-Colonel White, whose arme is sayd to be broken, with many other members prejudiced.' *The Clarke Papers*, by C. H. Firth, vol. iii. p. 87.

37.

From B. M. MS. Adds. Ayscough, 6125, ff. 61 b-63

Speeches 37-46 refer almost entirely to the humble Petition and Advice. This important revision of the Instrument of Government proposed the institution of Kingship, the creation of a second House, a constant Revenue, and sundry smaller changes which tended to define the relations of the executive and legislative powers.

Feb. 28, Speech 37. Within five days of the introduction of this measure by Alderman Pack, the officers of the Army had signified 'the fears and jealousies that lay upon them in relation to the Protectour's alteration of title,' and his Highness, as we see, judiciously spoke to them. The Bill continued to be keenly debated in the House, but the proceedings were conducted with great secrecy. On Friday, March 27, the House resolved to desire the Protector's consent, and he appointed the following Tuesday.

Tues., March 31, Speech 38. The House presented the Bill, which the Protector said, would require the utmost deliberation. On Friday, April 3, however, he wrote an important letter to the Speaker of the House¹, upon the reading of which a Committee was chosen to attend his Highness.

April 3, Speech 39. The Protector informed this Committee, which attended this afternoon, that he objected to the change of title, and if Parliament would so resolve, it would save him the trouble of urging his objections. On Saturday, April 4, when the Committee reported, the House at once divided, and resolved to adhere to their humble Petition and Advice. On Monday they resolved to acquaint his Highness with their vote and to present reasons.

April 8, Speech 40. The House attend his Highness, who asks for a Committee. This was appointed on Thursday, the following day, 'to receive from his Highness his doubts and scruples, &c.' A series of meetings followed, some delays being caused by the Protector's ill state of health.

Sat., April 11, Speech 41. General discussion on powers of the Committee, method of procedure, and 1st Article (Kingship).

Mon., April 13, Speech 42. Objections by O. C. to 1st Article.

Thurs., April 16. The Committee urge their objections to his Highness' last speech. His Highness declares their reasons to be weighty, and desires time to answer them.

Mon., April 20, Speech 43. His Highness answers their arguments and renews his objections to Article 1.

Tues., April 21, Speech 44. His Highness points out defects in the other Articles of the humble Petition and Advice. On the following day the Committee reported the result of their labours to the House, and the House proceeded to spend much time in amending their Petition, but Kingship was retained.

Tues., May 8, Speech 45. The House attended his Highness with the result of their work, only to receive a definite refusal of Kingship. This speech seems to have been ill received, if we are to judge from the fact that the House spent the next four days in debating it. Only on Tues., May 19, did the

¹ See Commons' Journals.

House resolve that 'Lord Protector shall be the Title to be inserted in the humble Petition and Advice; and that it be referred to a Committee to consider how that Title may be bounded, &c.' The division 'That the Question be now put,' resulted in a majority of 'one,' but the main question shewed 77 yeas to 45 noes. The first Article was accordingly cut out, and with the new one inserted the Bill was presented to the Protector on Monday, May 25.

Mon., May 25, Speech 46. His Highness accepts the humble Petition and Advice. An Additional Petition and Advice containing alterations, suggested by the Protector, received his consent on June 26. Both Petitions are printed in Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents*.

No notice has been taken in the above account of the various appointments and adjournments of meetings, mentioned in the *Commons' Journals*.

'Feb. 28, 165⁹ . . . when the duty of the day was over at Whitehall his Highness made a large speech to many officers of the Army then present, wherein he took notice, That he knew nothing of the Bill for Kingship till the day before that Colonel Mills acquainted him therewith. That he might have been King long since if he had delighted to wear a feather in his hat, that those vain titles he was never taken with, yet thought it convenient that a check should be put upon the unlimited power of this Parliament,—which he never was free to call, nor willing to agree to the Instrument of Government made by eight of the Major-Generals,—for that by the same law and reason they punished Naylor, they might punish an Independent or Anabaptist whereby the interest of the godly people of the three nations could not be secure as the government is now established [by] the Instrument, for which he hath long desired [it] might be altered, desiring that any twenty of them, with some other friends, would meet with him and debate things for their satisfaction.' *Clarke MS.* 29, fol. 12.

Clarke MS. 29, ff. 14 b, 15. 'I suppose you have heard that the officers have had their meetings and some of them were not without their dissatisfactions, but, his Highness having spoken to them at large the other night, this day they sent a Com-

mittee to wait upon his Highness to assure him of their satisfaction in his Highness, and of their resolutions to acquiesce in what he should think to be for the good of these nations.'

Ludlow writes as usual: 'In the meantime he endeavoured by all possible means to prevail with the officers of the Army to approve his design . . . said it was but a feather in a man's cap, and therefore wondered that men would not please the children and permit them to enjoy their rattle.' Firth's *Clar. Press ed.*, Oxford, 1894, vol. ii. p. 24.

P. 264. James Nayler. 'In October, 1656, he rode into Bristol, attended by a crowd of frantic devotees, some of them casting branches on the road, all chanting loud hosannas, several even vowing that he had miraculously raised them from the dead. For his share in these transactions Nayler was brought before a committee in Parliament. No sworn evidence was taken. Nobody proved that he had spoken a word. The worst that could be alleged was that he had taken part in a hideous parody. The House found that he was guilty of blasphemy, that he was a grand impostor, and a seducer of the people. It was actually proposed to inflict the capital sentence, and the offender only escaped death by a majority of fourteen, in a division of a hundred and seventy-eight members.' The sentence finally imposed is then given, and Cromwell's letter on his behalf quoted. 'This rebuke notwithstanding, the execrable sentence was carried out to the letter. It galled Cromwell to find that under the Instrument he had no power to interfere with the Parliamentary assumption of judicial attributes, and this became an additional reason for that grand constitutional revision which was now coming into sight.' Morley's *Oliver Cromwell*, pp. 403-4.

38.

From B. M. MS. Adds. Ayscough, 6125, ff. 74-5. Other versions in B. M. Lansdowne MS. 754, fol. 153; Clarke MS. 29, fol. 29b; *Publick Intelligencer*, 77.

For the occasions and dates of all speeches headed 'The humble Petition and Advice,' see Note to Speech 37.

The *Publick Intelligencer*, 77, has some account of the ceremony on this occasion. 'The Speaker's speech being ended, the Humble Petition and Advice was first read by Henry Scobell, Esq., Clerk of the Parliament, and afterwards the engrossed copy of it was presented to his Highness. Which being done his Highness was pleased to deliver himself in a speech to the Parliament, expressing very much of piety, gravity and good affection to the Parliament and people of these nations. He observed, &c.' Here follows an abstract of the speech, and the writer concludes, 'These are only some short heads of what was much more copiously and elegantly spoken by his Highness to the Parliament, with that majesty and authority, which appears most eminent in all his public actions; in the repetition whereof I have only to crave pardon, for fear lest I have been injurious to the dignity of so wise and so serene a person.' See also *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii.

The Speaker's speech is printed in Burton's *Diary*, vol. i. pp. 397-413.

39.

From Carte Papers, lxxx, ff. 755-6, *Bodleian*. Other versions in Clarke MS. 29, fol. 33 b; B. M. MS. Add. Ayscough, 6125.

For chronology, see Note to Speech 37.

P. 269. 'Which was it I acquainted them with by letter this day.'

'Friday, the 3rd of April, 1657. A letter from his Highness the Lord Protector, dated this day, directed to the Speaker, was this day read. Resolved, that a Committee be appointed to wait upon his Highness the Lord Protector, upon this letter.' *Commons' Journals*, vii. p. 519.

P. 272. 'The most I said in commendation of this Instrument may be returned upon me thus, Are there such good things so well provided for, why cannot you accept them without such an ingredient?' This hardly seems to make better sense than the previous version, and in all probability both are wrong.

It will be noticed that the House took a very definite view of the meaning of this speech, and consequently I am inclined to think that in this sentence the question and answer have been placed together. Perhaps we should read 'why cannot you accept them? Because of such an ingredient'; or, 'why cannot you accept them? Without such an ingredient [I can].' Or, there is the remote possibility that the whole question is addressed to Parliament, in which case a full stop should be placed after 'thus,' and the meaning would be, 'why cannot you accept alterations without proposing kingship.'

His Highness' speech was accepted as negative, and the House took action accordingly.

'Sat., the 4th of April, 1657. The Lord Commissioner Whitlock reports from the Committee appointed yesterday to attend his Highness the Lord Protector, That the said Committee did attend his Highness, according to the Order of the House; and that his Highness did express himself to the Committee to this effect.' (The speech, however, is not given.) 'The Question being propounded, That this House doth adhere to their humble Petition and Advice, presented to his Highness the Lord Protector; And the Question being put, That that Question be now put: The House was divided.

The Noes went forth.

Major-General Whalley	{ Tellers for the Noes; }	} 65
Colonel Talbott	{ With the Noes. }	

Major-General Howard	{ Tellers for the Yeas; }	} 77
Major-General Jephson	{ With the Yeas. }	

So it passed in the affirmative.

And the Main Question being put, That this House doth adhere to their humble Petition and Advice presented to his Highness the Lord Protector: The House was again divided.

The Noes went forth.

Major Disbrow	{ Tellers for the Noes; }	} 65
Colonel Hewson	{ With the Noes. }	

General Montagu	{ Tellers for the Yeas; }	} 78
Sir John Hobart	{ With the Yeas. }	

So it was resolved, &c.' *Commons' Journals*, vii. p. 520.

40.

From Clarke MS. 29, fol. 39; Worcester College, Oxford.

Other versions in B. M. Sloane MS. 4157, ff. 180-1; B. M. MS. Add. Ayscough, 6125, ff. 78 b-80 b; The Publick Intelligencer, 78, &c.

For chronology, see Note to Speech 37.

Commons' Journals. 'Thursday, the 9th of April, 1657. Mr. Speaker reported to the House the effect of his Highness speech, in answer to the address made by the House, at his meeting with the House yesterday. Resolved, that a Committee be appointed to wait upon his Highness the Lord Protector in reference to what his Highness did yesterday propose in his speech, now reported to the House.'

In Speeches 39 and 40, MS. Add. Ayscough 6125 agrees as a rule with the corrections made from the Clarke MS., Sloane MS., and the *Publick Intelligencer*. But it must be remembered that this MS., being a collection of speeches, may have been copied from these sources, and can hardly be regarded as an authority, except in the cases of Speeches 34 and 37, of which we have no other report, and Speeches 38 and 44, which may have been copied from sources now lost to us.

41.

From 'Monarchy Asserted, To be the best, most Ancient and legall form of Government, in a conference had at Whitehall, with Oliver late Lord Protector and a Committee of Parliament: &c. London, Printed by Iohn Redmayne for Philip Chetwin, 1660.' Bodleian, Ashmole 999; B. M. 809, d. 6.

For chronology, see Note to Speech 37.

In *Monarchy Asserted* the following extract from the *Commons' Journals* (vol. vii. p. 521) precedes the Report of this discussion:—'Thursday the ninth of April, 1657. Ordered by the Parliament, that a Committee be appointed to wait upon his Highness the Lord Protector, in reference to what his

Highness did yesterday propose in his speech, now reported to the House.

Resolved, That this Committee have power to receive from his Highness his doubts and scruples, touching any of the particulars contained in the humble Petition and Advice formerly presented; and in answer thereunto, to offer to his Highness reasons for his satisfaction, and for the maintenance of the Resolutions of this House; and such particulars as they cannot satisfy his Highness in, that they report the same to the Parliament.' (The Names of the Committee follow, ninety-nine in number.) 'To meet forthwith in the Speaker's Chamber. Resolved, That this Committee have power to appoint some of their number to attend his Highness, to desire him to appoint a time when they may wait upon him according to those Votes. Hen. Scobell, Clerk of the Parliament.'

A slight difficulty is caused in this Report by the use of the title 'Lord Chief Justice.' Chief Justice Glynne of the Upper Bench is the only one mentioned in the list of the Committee given in the *Commons' Journals*; but in addition *Monarchy Asserted* places Oliver St. John, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, immediately above Glynne, as one of the speakers. The Editor of the *Parliamentary History* divides the speeches between both speakers: Carlyle attributes them all to Glynne. On the other hand, Glynne is mentioned by name later on, so that it looks as if the other title referred to Oliver St. John. Under these circumstances the title has been left as it stands in the original. As to the other names, the Master of the Rolls is Mr. Lenthall, late Speaker of the Long Parliament; Fiennes is spelt 'Fines.'

42.

From Ashmole MS. 749 (11), Bodleian.

Another version in *Monarchy Asserted* and short notes in B. M. Harleian MS. 6846, fol. 236.

For chronology, see Note to Speech 37.

'Wednesday, 15 April, 1657. The Lord Whitelock acquaints the House, That the Committee attended his Highness yester-

day at Whitehall; but by reason of his indisposition of health, the meeting was appointed this day, at three of the clock in the afternoon: which being so, and the Notes upon the former meeting being not perfectly transcribed, the Committee humbly pray some further time for the making of their Report in that business.' *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 522.

On Thursday, April 16, the Committee answered Speech 42:—

'Friday, 17 of April, 1657. The Lord Whitelock acquaints the House, That yesterday the afternoon was spent by the Committee appointed to attend his Highness, in giving reasons to his Highness for his satisfaction; which his Highness declared to be weighty, and to require some deliberation; and desired some time, till this afternoon, to give answer to them': *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 522. His Highness' speech on this afternoon of Thursday is missing, and his answer was not given till April 20, Speech 43.

It will be noticed that Speeches 37-46 are preceded by the heading 'The humble Petition and Advice.' This is because the speeches, as a group, refer to the whole Bill, and by no means only to the Article containing Kingship. Further confusion may be saved by attending to a sentence in Thurloe, vi. 219:—'He hath had 3 or 4 conferences with a Committee of Parliament about the title, *he giving reasons against it, they for it.*' His Highness is concerned to defend 'Protectorship,' and his arguments in general should be read from that point of view. The expression 'the title' then must be carefully observed, as it sometimes refers to Protectorship and not to Kingship.

P. 306. In *Monarchy Asserted*, p. 43, the passage reads thus, 'I would advise you, that if there be any of a forward or unmannerly or womanish spirit I would not have you lose them. I would not that you should lose any servant or friend, that may help in this work, [or] that they should be offended by that, that signifies no more to me than as I told you, that is I do not think the thing necessary, I do not. I would not that you should lose a friend for it, &c.'

43.

From *Monarchy Asserted*, pp. 80-7.

Another version, B. M. MS. Add. Ayscough, 6125, ff. 11-15.

This speech is a reply to the arguments urged by the Committee on Thursday, April 16, against his former speech of Monday, April 13. For chronology, see Note to Speech 37.

'Tuesday, the 21st of April, 1657. The Lord Whitelock acquaints the House, That the Committee attended his Highness yesterday; who was pleased to speak something to what had been formerly offered; and had a Paper, wherein, he said were contained some other things which he had to offer to the Committee; and desired another time to be appointed for that purpose: And this day, at three of the clock in the afternoon, was agreed.' *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 522.

Pp. 307-8. Lord Broghill: 'if therefore the title of Protector should be the title of the supreme magistrate we should fit the laws to him, not him to the laws.' P. 69, *Monarchy Asserted*.

Lord Whitelocke urges that the title of King is as Cromwell says founded on consent, but 'that the title of King is not only by an original common consent, but that consent also proved and confirmed, and the laws fitted thereunto, and that fitted to the laws by the experience and industry of many ages, and many hundreds of years together. Whereas *any other title will be only by present common consent*, without that experience and approbation. . . .' Pp. 77-8, *Monarchy Asserted*.

Lord Whitelocke: 'I shall only add this, that a title by relation is not so certain and safe as a title upon the old foundation of the law: and that a title upon a present single constitution, as any new title must be, cannot be so firm as a title both upon the present constitution and upon the old foundation of the law likewise, which the title of King will be.' P. 79, *Monarchy Asserted*.

Pp. 307-8. Lord Chief Justice Glynne: kingship 'cannot be transmitted to another name, without much labour, great hazard, if it may at all.'

P. 312. Lord Broghill: 'Whatever is not particularly specified the Protector is left to act arbitrarily, or a Parliament must be called to supply every new discovered defect, his power being derived only from that authority that now does, and hereafter shall, constitute them, which will prove dangerous and inconvenient.'

44.

From B. M. MS. Add. Ayscough, 6125, ff. 15-31 b.

Another version in *Monarchy Asserted*, and MS. noted by Historical Manuscripts Commission, vol. ii. p. 87, the property of J. R. Ormsby-Gore, Esq., M.P., of Brogyntyn, co. Salop.

For chronology, see Note to Speech 37.

P. 321. Refers to the Act against dissolving the Parliament without its own consent, May 11, 1641. 'An Act to prevent inconveniences which may happen by the untimely adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving this present Parliament.' See *Constitutional Documents*, p. 87.

P. 329. Mr. Feake was committed to prison on Jan. 28, 1654, 'in order to the preservation of the peace of this nation,' having been brought before the Council on Dec. 21, respecting a meeting held at Blackfriars on Monday evening, 19 December. On that occasion he 'discoursed concerning the little horn in Daniel vii,' describing its nine characters, and concluding that it 'is a power sprung out of fourth monarchy, immediately before the beginning of the fifth, and which shall be destroyed by the fifth.' Mr. Vavasour Powell pursued the same interpretations, concluding 'that there is such a thing as fifth monarchy,' which Christ is now setting up: that there is now such a thing as a spirit of prophecy in the saints, whereby they are enabled to foretell the things to come; and thereupon he undertook to foretell the downfall of the present power: that the great design of Christ is to destroy all antichristian forms, churches, and clergy.' Attacks on the existing state of society and government were pursued with great vehemence, and Mr. Feake was one of those 'that carried it on with heat.' An assembly on Feb. 5 was 'dull,' Mr. Feake being absent. *Calendar of (Domestic) State Papers*, under the above dates.

P. 329. The printed book here mentioned, and also referred to on p. 311, cannot be identified with certainty. The Protector probably refers to 'Confusion Confounded: or, A firm way of Settlement settled and Confirmed. Wherein is Considered the Reasons of the Resignation of the late Parliament and the Establishment of a Lord Protector, London, 1654.' *Bodleian, G. Pamph.* 1787 (5). This is an answer to 'A True Narrative of the Cause and Manner of the Dissolution of the late Parliament, &c., 1653,' in which the Votes of the late Parliament are defended. It shews that everything would have ended in utter confusion, and justifies the action of Cromwell in again taking up the power.

Space will not allow of the humble Petition and Advice being printed in full here, but the following extracts from the Additional and Explanatory Petition, presented on June 26, must be admitted, as they refer almost entirely to this speech. The references, placed by the side, are to Speech 44.

'The humble Additional and Explanatory Petition and Advice, of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses now assembled in the Parliament of this Commonwealth.

Whereas upon the humble Petition and Advice of the said Knights, Citizens, &c., lately presented and consented unto by your Highness; certain Doubts and Questions have arisen, concerning some particulars therein comprised: for explanation whereof, May it please your Highness to declare and consent unto the Additions and Explanations hereafter mentioned, and may it be declared with your Highness Consent;

In the fourth Article.

(Pp. 332-3.) That such person and persons as invaded England, under Duke Hamilton, in the year 1648; or advised, consented, assisted, or voluntarily contributed unto that War; and were for that cause debarred from publick trust by the Parliament of Scotland, be incapable to Elect, or be Elected, to sit and serve as Members of Parliament, or in any other place of publick trust, relating unto the fourth and thirteenth Articles in the Petition and Advice, excepting such as since

have borne Arms for your Highness, or the Parliament, or have been admitted to sit and serve in the Parliament of this Commonwealth, and are of good life and conversation, or such as shall hereafter be declared by your Highness, with the advice of your Council, to have given some signal testimony of their good affection and continuance of the same.

(P. 334.) That the Proviso in the said fourth Article, be explained thus, viz. That such English and Scottish Protestants, who (since the defection of the Earl of Ormond, and the Lord Inchiquin, and before the first day of March, 1649) have borne Arms for, and ever since continued faithful to the Parliament, or your Highness, or have otherwise (before the said first day of March, 1649) given signal testimony of their good affection to this Commonwealth, and have ever since continued faithful to the same, shall not be debarred or deemed incapable of electing, or being elected, to serve in Parliament.

(Pp, 334-5.) And whereas in the said fourth Article Public Ministers, or Public Preachers of the Gospel, are disabled to be elected to serve in Parliament; It is hereby explained and declared to extend to such Ministers and Preachers only, as have Maintenance for Preaching, or are Pastors or Teachers of Congregations.

In the said fourth Article.

(Pp. 335-6.) That instead of Commissioners to be appointed by Act of Parliament to examine and try whether the Members to be elected for the House of Commons in future Parliaments, be capable to sit according to the Qualifications mentioned in the said Petition and Advice, there shall be the Penalty and Fine of a 1000 pounds laid and inflicted upon every such unqualified Member (be so adjudged) by the said House of Commons, and imprisonment of his Person until payment thereof. And that the ensuing Clauses in the said Article, &c., shall not be put in Execution, &c.

In the fifth Article.

(P. 336.) That the nomination of the Persons to supply the place of such Members of the other House, as shall die, or be removed, shall be by your Highness and your Successors.

In the seventh Article.

(Pp. 337, 342.) That the monies directed to be for the supply of the Sea and Land Forces, be issued by Advice of the Council, And that the Treasurer or Commissioners of the Treasury, shall give and Account of all the said money to every Parliament.

(P. 338.) That the Officers of State, and Judges, in the Ninth Article of the said Petition and Advice mentioned, shall be chosen in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Consent of the Council, to be afterwards approved by Parliament.' *Memorials of the English Affairs*. For the full text of this explanatory Petition, and the humble Petition and Advice, see *Constitutional Documents*, pp. 334-50.

P. 342. 'I cannot tell in this Article, that I am now to speak unto.' This paragraph refers to Article vii (pp. 337-8), and is obviously out of place; in this case we should read 'that I am now speaking unto.' On p. 347 it will be noticed that his Highness again refers to Article vii, but this seems to be a genuine afterthought.

P. 345. His Highness means, that the Ministers admit that a great service has been done to the Christian religion in England by the Institution of the 'Triers,' or Committee of Approbation. He adopted that device with this end in view, and what he did by virtue of that Institution was not done *jure divino*, but as a civil good. This is expressly said in the Ordinance of March 20, 1654.

'Wednesday, the 22 of April, 1657. The Lord Whitelock reports, That the Committee did yesterday attend his Highness; who did then offer unto them a Paper, containing several scruples about several things in the Petition and Advice: And that a Committee are preparing a report of the whole business together.' *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 522.

'Thursday, the 23 of April, 1657. The Lord Commissioner Whitelock reports from the Committee appointed to wait on his Highness the Lord Protector, according to an order of the ninth of this month, the proceedings of the said Committee therein; and the substance of his Highness' Speech to them, on the one-and-twentieth of this month; and two Papers, delivered to the

Committee by his Highness: which the Reporter read; and afterwards were read by the Clerk.' *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 523. The House, after making alterations in the Petition, resolved on Thursday, April 30, 'That the same Committee who did formerly attend the Lord Protector, touching the humble Petition and Advice, do attend his Highness with the several resolves of Parliament touching the matter; and to desire his Highness to appoint a time, when the House may attend his Highness, for his positive resolution and answer to that humble Petition and Advice.' *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 529. The Committee presented and read the resolves on May 1, but his Highness did not answer till May 8.

45.

From *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 533. Other versions in Clarke MS. 29, fol. 58 b; B. M. MS. Add. Ayscough, 6125, ff. 32. 33; B. M. Harleian MS. 6846, fol. 237; *Monarchy Asserted*, p. 111; and *Thurloe*, vi. p. 267.

For chronology, see Note to Speech 37.

This is the last speech dealing with kingship, and probably the best conclusion of the matter is to agree with Clarendon, when he says that 'the Protector himself seemed to desire nothing more than to have the authority they had formerly given him, at least that he had exercised from the time he was Protector, confirmed and ratified by Act of Parliament.' To attain this it was necessary to persuade the House to amend their Bill, without risk of giving offence; for it must be remembered that by the then Constitution the House could have made it Law, without the consent of the Protector. This was successfully achieved, though it cost some time on the Protector's part, and even more on the part of the House. The intense hostility of certain officers is no doubt explained by their dislike of the gradual return of the Constitution in its old form, whereby they more and more lost their political influence. Of the speeches dealing with the humble Petition and Advice it will be noticed that No. 38 is merely an acknowledgement of the receipt of the Bill; No. 40 is a request for

a Committee; the greater part also of No. 44 has nothing to do with kingship; and No. 46 is delivered after consent has been given to the Bill, with kingship omitted. The remainder deal with the actual question of the title. The short chronology to No. 37 shews that the House of Commons was largely responsible for the time expended on this question.

The *Commons' Journals* are mostly silent as to the debates in the House after this speech, but some information is given in Clarke MS. xxix. fol. 67:—

'May 15, 1657.—Since his Highnesse' late refusall of the title of King, the House has from day to day adjourned upon what should be the question of these three.

1. Whether in course the advice should altogether be layd aside with the government and title indissolubly?

2. Whether since the government profered by the humble advice of the House, being in it selfe so perfect and necessary for the happiness of the people, may not be retayned, and some other title fallen upon which may be more acceptable?

3. Whether the present title of Protector may not be fit to be retayned with the new perfect advice of government, and such thinges as may be therein conceived inconsistent with this title may not be expunged, as House of Lords and such like, and the whole remnant remayne?' *The Clarke Papers*, by C. H. Firth, vol. iii. p. 108.

'Friday, the 22nd May, 1657. Sir Lislebone Long reports from the Committee to whom it was referred to bound the title of Lord Protector, the Resolution of that Committee thereupon, in these words; viz. That your Highness will be pleased, by and under the name and style of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, to hold and exercise the Office of Chief Magistrate of these nations; and to govern, according to this Petition and Advice, in all things therein contained; and in all other things, according to the laws of the nations, and not otherwise.' A division was then taken on the question, That this House doth agree with the Committee:—

'Sir Lislebon Long	{ Tellers for the Yeas : }	} 53
Mr. Wm. Lister	{ With the Yeas. }	
Attorney of the Duchy	{ Tellers for the Noes : }	} 50
Mr. Grove	{ With the Noes. }	

So it was resolved, &c.'

'Sat., May 23, 1657. Resolved, That the Clerk do rase out the Clause in the First Article in the Ingrossment of the Petition and Advice: and do insert the other clause in room thereof, according to the Votes yesterday. And the same was done at the Table, accordingly.' *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 538. A Committee was then appointed to wait on his Highness, 'to know when this House shall attend his Highness with this humble Petition and Advice,' and his Highness appointed Monday morning at 10 o'clock, in the Painted Chamber; see Speech 46.

46.

From *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 539. Other versions in Clarke MS. 29, fol. 75 b; B. M. MS. Add. Ayscough, 6125, fol. 81; also MS. of His Grace the Duke of Portland, noted by Historical Manuscripts Commission, 13th report, Appendix, Part I. p. 682; and Thurloe, vi. pp. 309-10.

For chronology, see Note to Speech 37.

'Monday, the 25th of May, 1657. The Serjeant brings Word, That Serjeant Middleton was at the Door, with a message from his Highness. And thereupon he was called in: And having made Two Obeisances to the House when he came into the Middle of the House, with his Mace in his hand, he declared to Mr. Speaker, That he is commanded by his Highness the Lord Protector, to let this House know, that his Highness is in the Painted Chamber; and desires to speak with this honourable House. And thereupon withdrew. Which being done, Mr. Speaker, attended by the House, went up to the Painted Chamber: Where being come, his Highness, attended by the Officers of State, came in: And thereupon, Mr. Speaker presented the humble Petition and Advice, acquainting his Highness with the Alteration made therein: Which was read: And, thereupon, Mr. Speaker, in the Name of the Parliament did

desire his Highness' Consent to the whole Petition and Advice : To which his Highness gave his Consent ; and afterwards made a Speech to the House : Which being ended, he departed : And Mr. Speaker, with the House, returned to the Parliament-House.' *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 539.

47.

From *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 552.

Also given in *The Publick Intelligencer*, No. 86, and *The Perfect Politician*, p. 305, where we read ' : and understanding.'

Tuesday, June 9, 1657. (Serjeant Middleton having called the House to the Painted Chamber)—'Mr. Speaker after a pithy and short speech, touching the deliberate and grave proceedings of Parliament, did, in the name of the Parliament, present his Highness with two Bills for an Assessment towards the defraying of the charge of the Spanish War, and other occasions of the Commonwealth ; together with divers other Bills, some of the public, and others of a more private concernment, being but as some grapes preceding the full vintage. The Titles of the Bills were read by the Clerk, and his Highness' answer unto them.'

'Tuesday, June 9, 1657. Post Meridiem. Mr. Speaker reports his Highness' speech made this day to Parliament, upon the presenting of the Bills : which was as followeth.'—*Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 552.

48.

From *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 579.

Other versions in *The Publick Intelligencer*, No. 118 ; *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 400 ; B.M. Harleian MS. 6801, ff. 282-7 ; and *A Further Narrative of the Passages of these times in the Commonwealth of England*, B. M., E. 1954 (4).

Cromwell was installed as hereditary Protector on June 26, 1657, in accordance with the humble Petition and Advice, and the House adjourned till Jan. 20, 1657 $\frac{7}{8}$. In the interval writs were issued for the other House, which now assembled together

with the House of Commons to hear his Highness' speech. The two Houses were dissolved on Feb. 4, either in consequence of the differences that quickly arose between them, or because it had been decided to call a fresh Parliament with a view to still further improving the Constitution.

'Wednesday, 20th January, 1657 . . . The House being acquainted, That the Usher of the Black Rod was at the Door, with some Message to this House; He was called in; And, having made his Obeisance, and approaching towards the Middle of the House, with the Rod in his Hand, he acquainted the House, That his Highness is in the Lords House, and stays for this House. Resolved, That the Serjeant at Arms attending this House do stand by Mr. Speaker, bearing his Mace upon his Shoulder, whilst this House are with his Highness, as formerly he was appointed to do. This House thereupon went, accordingly, to the Lords House, to his Highness.' *Commons' Journals*, vii. p. 579. On the following day Mr. Speaker made report to the House of the speech made by his Highness.

'The Parliament met according to their adjournment, and the Members of the other House summoned by Writ met, and sat in the Lords House, as the Lords used to do formerly. The Protector came thither, and the Speaker with the House of Commons, being sent for by the Black Rod, came to the Lords House, where the Protector made a solemn speech to them, but was short by reason of his indisposition of health; and after him, the Lord Commissioner Fiennes spake to them more at large.' *Memorials of the English Affairs*, p. 666.

P. 358. See the Declaration of the two Houses, March 9, 1642, respecting the causes of their fears, which gives reasons for the expectation 'that his Majesty had some great design in hand, for the altering of religion, [and] the breaking the neck of his Parliament,' a design that 'had been potently carried on by those in greatest authority about him for divers years together.' Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, iv. 332. The Declaration of Aug. 2, 1642, printed in *Parl. Hist.* vi. p. 350, is also very similar.

P. 362. 'The root and the branches.' Cromwell no doubt had in his mind the Bill for the complete abolition of Episcopacy,

the Root and Branch Bill, read in the Commons on May 27, 1641. The Protestation referred to is 'The humble petition and protestation of all the bishops and prelates now called by his Majesty's writs to attend the Parliament, and present about London and Westminster for that service.' In this, 'they do in all duty and humility protest, before your Majesty and the Peers of that most honourable House of Parliament, against all laws, orders, votes, resolutions, and determinations, as in themselves null and of none effect, which in their absence, since the seven and twentieth of this instant month of December, 1641, have already passed: as likewise against all such as shall hereafter pass in that most honourable House during the time of this their forced and violent absence from the said most honourable House &c.' 'The House of Commons took very little time to consider of the matter, but, within half an hour, they sent up to the Lords, and, without further examination, accused them all who had subscribed the protestation of high treason; and by this means, they were all, the whole twelve of them, committed to prison, and remained in the Tower till the Bill for the putting them out of the House was passed, which was not till many months after.' Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, iv. 141-2.

P. 365. The 'honourable person' is Lord Commissioner Fiennes. 'Which particulars were afterwards delivered in a grave and eloquent speech at large, by the Lord Fiennes, one of the Lords Commissioners of the great Seal.' *Publick Intelligencer*. His speech is to be found in *Commons' Journals*, vii. pp. 582-7.

49.

From Lansdowne MS. 754, ff. 330-1.

Other versions in B. M. Sloane MS. 2905 (imperfect); B. M. MS. Add. Ayscough, 6125, ff. 82 b-93 (imperfect); also MS. of His Grace the Duke of Portland, noted by Historical Manuscripts Commission, 13th report, Appendix, Part I. p. 682.

'Monday, the 25th of January, 1657. A letter from his Highness the Lord Protector, directed, To our right trusty and right well beloved Sir Thomas Widdrington, Speaker of our House

of Commons; to be communicated to the House; dated the twenty-fifth January instant, was this day read: and was to give his Highness a meeting, at the Banqueting-House at Whitehall, at three of the clock this afternoon.

Resolved, That this House do give his Highness the Lord Protector a meeting, at the Banqueting-House in Whitehall, at three of the clock this afternoon, as is desired.' *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 587.

'The House did attend his Highness accordingly, when his Highness made a very long, plain, and serious speech, relating to the state of our affairs at home and abroad, and our dangers and necessities; inviting us to unite, and not stand upon circumstances. It held till night, that we could not see to write. Mr. Speaker desired me to take notes, and Mr. Smythe and I went to York House to Mr. Rushworth, that we might confer notes; but it was so long that we could not get it ready to report it next morning.' *Diary of Thomas Burton*, vol. ii. p. 351.

In the *Commons' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 589, we find that Mr. Speaker reported this speech to the House, 'And further, That his Highness desired, That this House should be acquainted, That his Highness intended to have imparted to them a Paper concerning the State of the publick Monies: which he had not then ready with him: but that the House should have it, whenever they should desire the same.'

Whitelocke also says in his *Memorials*, page 673, 'he exhorted them to unity, and to the observance of their own Rules in the Petition and Advice; and gave them a state of the public accounts, and good counsel.'

'This afternoon, by command, both Houses met his Highness in the Banqueting Hall, where he made a very pious and eloquent speech, tending to unity amongst themselves, and provision against the common enemies of the nation.' *Calendar of (Domestic) State Papers*, p. 273.

It will be noticed that this speech is incomplete, as his Highness makes no mention of his Paper concerning the state of the Public Monies. If Whitelocke also reports correctly, 'he gave them a state of the public accounts.'

P. 369. Mr. Rutt mentions the pamphlet by J. B. Stouppe. 'A collection of the several papers sent to his Highness the Lord Protector . . . concerning the bloody and barbarous massacres, murthers, and other cruelties, committed on many thousands of Reformed or Protestants dwelling in the valleys of Piedmont, by the Duke of Savoy's forces, &c., 1655.' *B. M., E.* 842 (11). He adds, 'Milton, as Latin secretary, wrote letters in the Protector's name . . . to the Duke of Savoy, the Prince of Transylvania, the King of Sweden, the Protestant Swiss Cantons, the King of Denmark, the King of France, and Cardinal Mazarine.' Mr. Moreland, who published, in 1658, a 'History of the Evangelical Churches of the Vallies of Piedmont,' was sent ambassador to the Duke of Savoy, and 'the Protector appointed a solemn day of humiliation to be kept, and a large contribution to be gathered throughout the nation' (Whitelocke, 1732, p. 629.) 'The sum raised was 38,000*l.* besides 2000, immediately contributed by himself.' *Diary of Thomas Burton*, vol. ii, p. 354.

P. 369. Emperors: Ferdinand III, 1637-57. Leopold I, 1658-1705 (King of Hungary, 1655).

Brandenburg:—Friedrich-Wilhelm, 1640-88, the 'Great Elector.'

Denmark:—Frederik III, 1648-70.

Sweden:—Karl X Gustaf, 1654-60.

France:—Louis XIV, 1643-1715.

Spain:—Felipe IV, 1621-65.

Bavaria:—Ferdinand, 1651-77.

Pope:—Alexander VII.

The death of Ferdinand III, and the question of the succession, occupy much space in contemporary letters:—

'The emperor's death is confirmed by letters from Vienna of the 10th instant [April, 1657], which came the last night to courtes; and that he has left the regence of the empire for the present in the hands of the arch-duke Leopoldus. They have resolved here to dispatch Monsr. de Lyonne and another person (but whom I cannot yet learne) into Germany, to the princes and free-states of the empire, to prevent, if possible, the electin of any of the house of Austria. The Duke of Saxonie, they say,

is turn'd Catholique, and will stand for it. If it be true, that he has changed his religion, he will certainly have the electors of Triers and Mentz for him, and his owne voice will be three. What the electors of Brandenburg and the Palatine will doe, is not easily conjectured. For the house of Austria will certainly bee the electors of Collogne and Bavaria, together with an army of 50,000. Soe as lett the electors bee disposed howe they will, the event of a new war is likeliest to determine who shall bee emperour ; to which issue the French and Swede will bring, if they can, and probably the Duke of Brandenburg. God's providence has soe disposed of this affayre, as that 'tis likely to produce one of the greatest changes, that has happened for some ages in Christendom.' Thurloe, vi. 196-7.

P. 371. 'a poor Prince' refers to the difficulties of the King of Sweden and his war with Denmark, a Protestant State.

50.

From Commons' Journals, vol. vii. p. 589.

'His Highness answered them that his speech he could not remember, nor had he any copy thereof to be printed. That [he] was sworn to maintain the Privilege of Parliament, and for them to come as a Committee, without a conjunction of a Committee of the other House, was in his judgement a great breach of Privilege, and therefore [he] could not take cognizance of their message. This put the Commons yesterday and today upon a debate of the power of the other House, what they shall be called &c.' *Clarke MS.* 30, fol. 15.

The Committee, to whom this speech was made, had been empowered by the House to ask his Highness to give directions as to the printing of his speech, delivered on Monday, January 25 ; to move his Highness to communicate and deliver to them the Paper concerning the state of the Public Monies, which he mentioned on that occasion ; and to acquaint his Highness that the House would take the matters imparted to them in that speech into serious and speedy consideration. After his Highness' answer had been reported, the House went into debate touching the Appellation of the other House, and were so engaged, among other business, till the dissolution.

51.

From B. M. Lansdowne MS. 754, fol. 342.

Other versions in Clarke MS. 30, fol. 17; and Philips MS., edited in the 'Parliamentary History.'

At the conclusion of this speech, *Philips MS.*, reprinted in the 'Parliamentary History,' adds: 'At this many of the Commons cried out, Amen.' *Clarke MS.* 30 also concludes, 'many of the Commons cried Amen, and so the Parliament was dissolved.' *MS. Tanner* ends, 'I therefore now dissolve you.' 'Behemoth, by T. H. of Malmsbury, 1680,' p. 267, *Bodleian, Wood* 213, ends thus: 'By the living God I must and do dissolve you.'

Tanner MS. 51, and others, describe the hurry and anger in which the Protector dismissed the two Houses, mostly attributing it to a petition of Fifth Monarchy or Commonwealth's men. Much of this information may safely be dismissed as mere gossip. The speech here printed, being of greater length than in other reports, is hardly of the kind to be made in a hurry. The Protector evidently discussed at length his and the Parliament's position towards the humble Petition and Advice, reproaching the House of Commons for having misled him, and justifying a dissolution by relating the present dangers. It will be seen that many of the sentences are incomplete, and to this must be attributed the appearance of haste. No doubt the speech came as a surprise to the hearers, who may have been quite unready to report the Protector, if not unwilling to misrepresent him. The purpose of dissolving this Parliament was to call another, and by April 3 we find that, 'The Privy Council of his Highness and another Council of the Army have been this week in debate of the great business of calling a Parliament, which it is thought will sit in May next, and likewise of a more future and more absolute settlement.' *Clarke MS.* 30, fol. 75. His Highness' action was supported as usual by loyal addresses from Corporations, Officers, and Regiments.

52.

From Tanner MS. li. fol. 1, *Bodleian*.

'On Saturday his Highness called together all the Officers of the Army that could readily be warned about the town, and it is said there were two hundred to whom he spake in a very large discourse of about two hours. Upon the conclusion thereof they gave a plauditory acclamation, and some of them I have spoken with say it gave a general satisfaction to them all.' *Clarke MS.* 30, fol. 18.

'All the Officers of the Army attended his Highness on Saturday last in the Banqueting House, where they were entertained with a speech of two hours long, which made them afresh resolve to stand and fall, live and die with my Lord Protector.' *Letter from S. Hartlib to Dr. Pell*, Feb. 11, 1657, London, quoted in *Parl. Hist.*, vol. xxi. p. 205.

'1657. Feb. 13, London:—On this day sevensnight his Highness made a long speech to all the officers of the army, setting forth the story of our times from 30. Caroli, and therein his own, and how that the authority he hath is a thing far from his own seeking: as also of his calling this Parliament, whereunto, being advised by his council, he yielded, though he professed it, in his own judgement, no way seasonable. Next of the necessity of his dissolving it, in order to the public safety, professing his zeal thereto, and intention to govern by the laws, except in case of urgent necessity, wherein he must be constrained to have recourse to extraordinary ways: but it seems his rhetoric did not charm them all, for I hear that 17 or 18 have either laid down their commissions, or that they are taken from them, &c.' *MS. of His Grace the Duke of Sutherland*; Historical Manuscripts Commission, vol. v. p. 177.

53.

From 'A Discovery made by his Highness the Lord Protector, &c., on Friday, March the 12, 1657.' *B. M., E.* 1644 (2).

'Last week the Protector sent for the Lord Mayor and Common Council and made them a speech above two

hours, &c.' *Calendar of (Domestic) State Papers*, 1657-58, p. 328.

The same heads of this speech are given in *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 407, where the writer ends, . . . but having no notes to help my memory, and being afraid lest I may already have fallen short in relating the heads of what was more copiously and much better spoken, I have only this to add, that the citizens expressed much cheerfulness in the presence of his Highness, and departed with very great satisfaction ; the good effects whereof will shortly appear by their actings for the public peace and safety.'

The same account appears in the *Publick Intelligencer*, No. 115, and a brief account in *Clarke MS.* 30, fol. 206.

54.

From *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 407.

Also in the *Publick Intelligencer*, No. 116.

55.

From *Mercurius Politicus*, 412.

In conclusion, we are reminded by *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 420, that his Highness up to the last had to make those little complimentary speeches, of which we have so good an example in No. 30. On this occasion, June 16, 1658, he had to receive the French Ambassadors, when 'This afternoon being the time appointed by his Highness to give them audience, they were attended hither in his Highness coach by the Master of the ceremonies about five-a-clock, they being accompanied by the most noble Lord, the Lord Fauconbridge, with divers other lords and persons of quality, who conducted them to their audience, which his Highness gave them standing under a Cloth of Estate. And the Duke of Crequi, speaking in French, signified to this effect, that he was sent from his Majesty of France to make a return of congratulation to his Highness concerning the affairs of this campaign, particularly touching the prosperous successes of the united forces of both

nations; as also to assure his Highness of the high esteem his Majesty hath of his friendship, and that he shall not be wanting upon any occasion to testify his earnest desire to maintain the amity and good correspondence happily established with his Highness, &c.

The like was expressed by Monsieur Mancini, nephew of the Cardinal, in the name of his Eminency.

To both which his Highness gave answers in brief, with the like returns of honour and affection, to manifest his high esteem of so great and good an ally as his Majesty of France, as also of his chief Minister, the Cardinal.

After this his Highness renewed the compliments of those noble persons that came along with them, and so the ceremony ended, &c.'

Similar speeches were made on June 19, when they departed, and his Highness 'being desirous to give all demonstrations of respect and honour to his Majesty of France, and his chief Minister the Cardinal, was pleased at the departure of these noble persons to pass with them from that room, and so along the next, to the door of his guard-chamber, and there he dismissed them, &c.' *Merc. Pol.* 421.

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